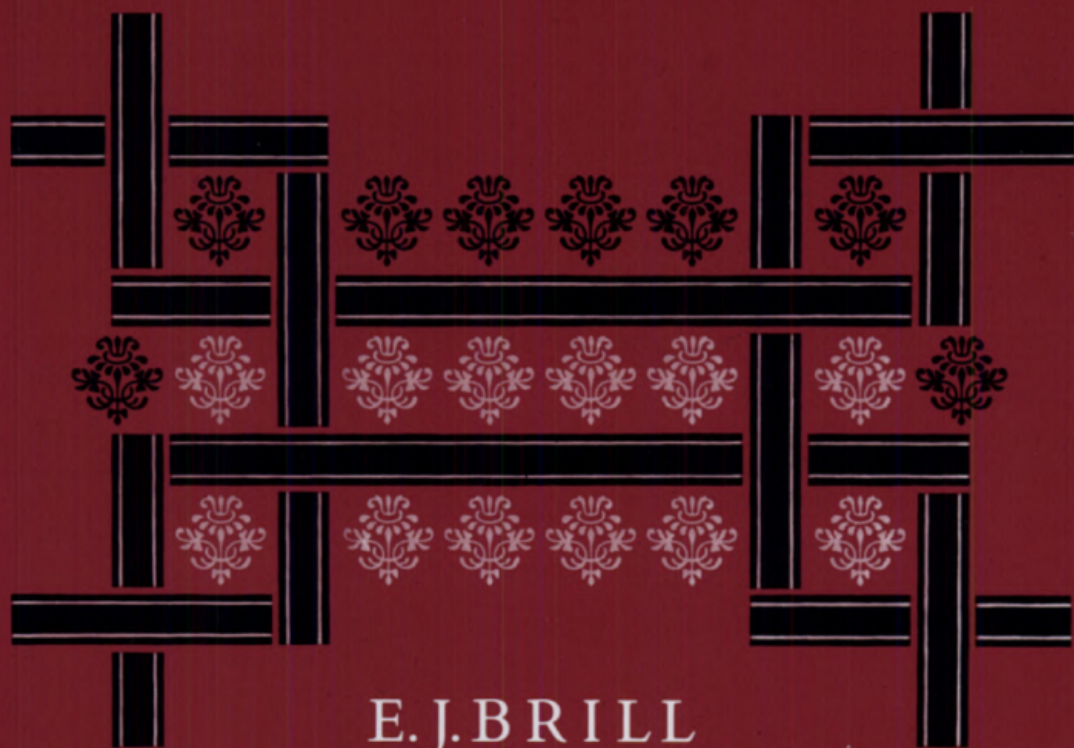


Aëtiana
*The Method & Intellectual Context
of a Doxographer*
by

J. Mansfeld & D.T. Runia

Volume One
The Sources



E. J. BRILL

J. MANSFELD AND D.T. RUNIA

AËTIANA

THE METHOD AND INTELLECTUAL CONTEXT
OF A DOXOGRAPHER

VOLUME ONE

THE SOURCES



In 1879 the young German scholar Hermann Diels published his *Doxographi Graeci* in which the major doxographical works of antiquity are collected and analysed. Diels' results have been foundational for the study of ancient philosophy ever since.

In their ground-breaking study the authors focus on the doxographer Aëtius, whose work Diels reconstructed from various later sources. First they examine the antecedents of Diel's Aëtian hypothesis. Then Diel's theory and especially the philological techniques used in its formulation are subjected to detailed analysis. The remainder of the volume offers a fresh examination of the sources for our knowledge of Aëtius. Diel's theory is revised and improved at significant points.

Subsequent volumes will examine the contents and methods of the doxographer and his antecedents in earlier Greek philosophy.

No scholar concerned with the history of ancient philosophy can afford to ignore this study.

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AËTIANA
VOLUME ONE
THE SOURCES

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A SERIES OF STUDIES ON ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY

FOUNDED BY J.H. WASZINK AND W.J. VERDENIUS

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J. MANSFELD, D.T. RUNIA
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J. MANSFELD AND D.T. RUNIA

AËTIANA

VOLUME ONE
THE SOURCES



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J. MANSFELD AND D.T. RUNIA



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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

The authors dedicate this book
to

Matthias Baltes

remembering the good times
we have had together in
Bern Utrecht Münster Leiden

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SIGLA

A	Aëtius
Ach	Achilles
AD	Arius Didymus
DG	H. Diels, <i>Doxographi Graeci</i>
<i>Dox. Pasq.</i>	<i>Doxographica Pasquali</i>
DPhA	<i>Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques</i>
E	Eusebius, <i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i>
FGrH	F. Jacoby, <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i>
G	ps.Galen, <i>Historia philosopha</i>
<i>Lampe</i>	G. W. H. Lampe, <i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i>
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i>
N	Nemesius, <i>De natura hominis</i>
P	ps.Plutarch, <i>Placita philosophorum</i>
PhdGr	E. Zeller, <i>Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung</i>
PPF	H. Diels, <i>Poetarum philosophorum fragmenta</i>
PG	Migne, <i>Patrologia graeca</i>
PL	Migne, <i>Patrologia latina</i>
RE	<i>Real-Enzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
Q	Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā
S	Stobaeus, <i>Eclogae physicae</i>
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
SVF	<i>Stoicorum veterum fragmenta</i>
T	Theodoret, <i>Graecarum affectionum curatio</i>
TGF	<i>Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta</i>
VP	<i>Vetusta placita</i>
VS	H. Diels–W. Kranz, <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i>
¶	chapter (see p. 110)
§	lemma or section (see p. 110)

INTRODUCTION

The present study is the first of a series of volumes dealing with the thorny topic of ancient doxography. Our hope is that the research which it presents will be taken seriously by the community of scholars working in the various fields of ancient philosophy. The term 'doxography' is a neologism with a shorter history than is generally recognized. It was invented by Hermann Diels in the late nineteenth century as the designation of what he believed to be a specific genre of ancient writings. Since then it has become common coin. In the course of more than a century of scholarship, however, its meaning has become quite diffuse.¹ For this reason not a few scholars prefer to avoid the term (and the subject) altogether, as for instance became clear during the *Seventh Symposium Hellenisticum* (Utrecht 1995) when, to the amusement of some present, the problems posed by doxography were waved away by the reference to it as 'the dreaded D-word'.

But the fact remains that our sources for the philosophies of antiquity are for the most part secondary, and that among these numerous indirect sources the writings—or sections of writings—discussed and edited by Diels in his *Doxographi Graeci* of 1879 remain of crucial importance. To a large extent scholarly research today is based upon the foundations laid long ago by Diels in his critical analysis of these sources. An assessment of this nature is a difficult and time-consuming task, and Diels' work, though

¹ The doxographical tradition as studied and implicitly defined by Diels in the *DG* is strictly limited to the *physical* part of philosophy; ultimately, as he believes, this derives from Theophrastus' *Physikōn doxai* (his title for the work), while at the other end we have ps.Plutarch's epitome which, too, deals with physics only (*Plac.* 1 *Praef.* 874E, μέλλοντες τὸν φυσικὸν παραδώσειν λόγον κτλ). Since then the term has not only evolved to include overviews of doctrines in the fields of ethics etc., or for instance literature belonging to the genre *On sects* (*Peri haireseōn*), but also—oddly enough—come to mean 'Darstellung der Lehre', as in the new Überweg; see e.g. Flashar (1983) 322-447: 'Doxographie' of Aristotle. An even more remarkable example is C. P. Janz, *Die Briefe Friedrich Nietzsches. Textprobleme und ihre Bedeutung für Biographie und Doxographie* (Zürich 1972). To be sure, Diels himself contributed to the confusion at (1899) vii n. 2 by qualifying the first part of J. G. H. Swellengrebel's *Veterum de elementis placita* (Utrecht 1844) as 'doxographisch'; perhaps he was provoked by the occurrence of the word 'placita' in the title.

criticized by scholars on various points of detail, has never been superseded.² It is our firm belief that the time has come for the files to be re-opened. This conviction has been the prime motivating force which has led us to embark on this series of volumes. Diels' reconstruction of the doxographical tradition has to be tested and revised. Its weak points have to be identified, its flaws have to be removed. Moreover several questions of great importance which never crossed his mind have to be raised and, wherever possible, given a satisfactory answer.

The present volume is devoted to the testing and revision of one part of Diels' reconstruction only,³ viz. his hypothesis that a considerable number of later sources are to be derived from a work composed in about 100 CE by an otherwise unknown person called Aëtius. In the *Doxographi Graeci* Diels provided a synoptical reconstruction of the treatise of this Aëtius, whose name has since become (or should have become) a by-word for all users of the *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* and other collections of philosophical fragments. In the volume which will appear after the present one a more detailed examination will be given of the contents of this work, including a full and argued *specimen reconstructionis* of its best preserved part, Book II on cosmology.⁴

History of scholarship more often than not is an indispensable component of scholarly research.⁵ This certainly holds for our present inquiry. In order to understand what made Diels' hypo-

² In a review in the 'Literarische Feuilleton' of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of February 6th 1996 the general public was informed in the following way: '1879 erschien sein [i.e. Diels'] erstes von Usener angeregtes großes Werk, die „Doxographi Graeci“, in dem die Überlieferung der antiken „Sekundärliteratur“ über Philosophie von Theophrast (4. Jahrhundert vor Christus) bis Iohannes Stobaios (5. Jahrhundert nach Christus) auf eine neue und *seitdem allgemein anerkannte Grundlage* gestellt wurde' (our emphasis). The reviewer seems to be unaware of the fact that the doxographical writings studied and edited by Diels are only a small part of the 'Sekundärliteratur', but this is by the way.

³ Another part, viz. his treatment of the relevant sections of Hippolytus' *Refutatio omnium haeresium* has been criticized and revised elsewhere, though not yet to its full extent (Mansfeld (1992b)). Yet another part of Diels' argument, viz. that pertaining to the relation between Theophrastus' *De sensibus* and the Aëtian chapters on the senses, has been pertinently criticized by Baltussen (1993) 195ff. See also below, n. 6 and text thereto.

⁴ Preliminary publications pertaining to the structure of two chapters (including reconstructions of the text) in Aëtius book II by Runia (1989) and (1992a), to that of one chapter in Aëtius book III by Mansfeld (1989) and to several others in Mansfeld (1990a).

⁵ We find ourselves entirely in agreement with Momigliano's claim at (1982) 2.

thesis seem like the inevitable outcome of the labours of his immediate and now largely forgotten predecessors, we found it necessary to make a thorough exploration of the environment which stimulated him to produce his great work. These scholars are now as good as forgotten, not least because Diels' references to them in the 'Prolegomena' to his edition (if we except those to powerful scholars like Usener, Zeller, and Th. Gomperz) are both parsimonious and obfuscating. And we have found it no less illuminating to study the forgotten efforts of scholars and philosophers from the sixteenth century onwards to cope with, sort out and make sense of the same sources later used by Diels, for these men too played an indispensable part in clearing the ground. It is only against the background of these often tortuous developments and traditions that Diels' phenomenal achievement can be properly understood. The first chapter of the present volume deals with these issues. We wish to emphasize that it could not have been written without the invaluable assistance and industry of our friend and colleague Dr T. L. Tieleman, who in the late eighties visited libraries all over the country and worked his way through numerous dusty tomes. In many cases they had not been opened for decades or even centuries.

Our second chapter focuses on the Dielsian hypothesis itself, and in particular on the methods used by Diels to distinguish the Aëtian tradition from other strands of what with some licence might be called the ancient historiography of philosophy. Special attention is given to two philological techniques which he used to powerful effect. The first of these is the so-called Lachmannian method. Diels applied the genealogical method familiar from the study of manuscript traditions of single texts (and sometimes corpora) to the organization of groups of differing but related texts in a broader tradition. This technique not only enabled him to establish a stemma for the texts deriving from the *Placita* of ps.Plutarch, but also—more ambitiously—to attempt to construct a stemma for the ancient doxographical tradition as a whole. The second is the synoptic method of presentation of corresponding texts. This may be seen as a close relative of the Lachmannian method, because it enables one to reconstruct the ancestors, or sources, and perhaps even the archetype of the surviving members of a family. But it also allows one to present the evidence in such a way that the parallels are immediately visible, and the

evidence intuitively convincing. The text of Aëtius as printed in the *Doxographi Graeci* juxtaposes the text of ps.Plutarch's *Placita* and the extant corresponding passages located in Stobaeus (including a good number lacking in ps.Plutarch) in parallel columns, while material from other sources is added in the apparatus at the bottom of the page. This combined application of the Lachmannian method and the synoptic technique were not invented by Diels, as we shall show. Their origin is to be found in the scholarly study of the New Testament from the later eighteenth century onwards, and they were already applied, though to a less dramatic extent, by classical scholars before Diels. The second chapter on Diels' methodology thus forms a bridge between the first chapter, which deals with the origins of his Aëtius hypothesis, and the following chapters, which provide a new and full analysis of the sources for the reconstruction of Aëtius' treatise.

A new study of this source material is indeed overdue because Diels was fatally prejudiced. Essentially he regarded the later representatives of the doxographical tradition, including Aëtius himself and not even excepting Cicero to the extent that the latter once in a while did make use of *Placita*, as impostors or even frauds, i.e. degenerate defilers of the originally unsullied stream of ancient historiographical writing on philosophy. This prejudice had a devastating effect. It meant he was unable to do justice to the nature of the derivative writings at issue, and could also not provide an adequate appraisal of the methods used by their authors and of their aim in doing what they did. Because all degenerates in his view were equal, he failed to make a proper distinction between those authors, or (parts of) works, which derive from Aëtius in a direct and relatively straightforward way, i.e. our sources for the reconstruction of Aëtius, and the great mass of ancient authors who availed themselves of data from the *Placita* literature for a variety of different purposes. For that matter Diels never even wondered why doxography began at all, or what was its *Sitz im Leben*—a question which is of central importance for our project and which we hope to tackle head on in a later volume.⁶

⁶ Preliminary accounts in Mansfeld (1990a) and (1992a). A typically imprecise and to some extent misleading characterization is found in an otherwise useful popular book about the Greek and Latin literature of the imperial period, Dihle (1989) 89: "Die Doxographie [in which Dihle includes Arius Didymus' account of Peripatetic ethics] beschränkte sich demgegenüber [i.e.

For this reason in the following three chapters devoted to the main sources for Aëtius, we shall look very closely at the methods and techniques used by the three main authors in their appropriation of doxographical material. In the case of ps.Plutarch, who compiled an *abridgement* of Aëtius, we shall pay particular attention to the way he compresses his material, involving the deletion of entire lemmata and the removal of numerous names. Compact and crabbed though the result is, his method of presentation retains much of the original spirit and method of Aëtius himself. Stobaeus uses a quite different method, which verbally remains closer to the source, but in presentation departs further from it. In his *Eclogae physicae* he in principle copied out *verbatim* the material he needed, but used the technique of *coalescence* for its organization. This pertains not only to lemmata of individual chapters of Aëtius, but also to material from other sources, which becomes mixed, or even blended, with Aëtian lemmata. He moreover often prefers to quote a passage from his favourite author Plato rather than taking over a lemma from Aëtius. The working methods and typical vocabulary of an anthologist are necessarily different from those of an epitomator. Our detailed study will not only enable us to confirm most of Diels' results in distinguishing the Aëtian lemmata from those deriving from the source which goes by the name of Arius Didymus and from the material dealing with the interpretation of Homer, but, as we believe, also to improve upon these results. Different again is the much freer use our third main source Theodoret makes of material from Aëtius in his polemical work exposing the follies of the Greeks, the *Graecorum affectionum curatio*. On the one hand Diels overrated the importance of Theodoret's adaptations for the reconstruction of the original shape of the exposition in Aëtius, while on the other he overlooked quite a few passages which contain information about its contents.

A further aspect that needs to be addressed in the third chapter is the tradition derived from ps.Plutarch's *Epitome*, which is quite separate from and subordinate to the narrower Aëtian tradition outlined so far. Diels' detailed reconstruction of this tradition also

in contrast to Aristotle's dialectical overviews] auf eine möglichst genaue [sic] Wiedergabe älterer Lehrmeinungen, auf die man sich dann von Fall zu Fall bei dem Versuch, eigene Lehren zu konzipieren, berufen konnte'.

requires a fresh and unprejudiced look. Of course we are fortunate in having new material that Diels did not have. We now possess an accurate German translation of the Arabic version of ps.Plutarch,⁷ and we also have access to a few scraps of a 3rd century papyrus which contained the Greek text. In his 1870 dissertation Diels had already examined the relation between ps.Plutarch's *Placita* and ps.Galen's *Historia philosopha*, and brilliantly demonstrated that the latter was dependent on the former.⁸ This question needs also to be re-examined in the light of the Arabic and papyrological evidence now available.

Other authors who according to Diels derived their physical *placita* from ps.Plutarch and ps.Plutarch only, namely Achilles (in the *On the Universe*) and Nemesius (in the *De natura hominis*) also need to be looked at afresh. It will emerge that Nemesius must have also used other sources, whereas Achilles is a cousin of Aëtius rather than a child or grand-child of ps.Plutarch. The actual discovery that Achilles' position in the doxographical stemma is different from that assigned to him in the *Doxographi Graeci* was made by Giorgio Pasquali,⁹ who certainly formulated his find in too modest a way. It was acknowledged by Diels himself, but failed to percolate to the broader scholarly community. These documents, plus a few others of lesser importance, are studied in the sixth chapter, which deals with further witnesses to the Aëtian tradition. Among these witnesses we also include the early Christian apologist Athenagoras. Diels had regarded this source as the earliest member of the ps.Plutarchean tradition, but we conclude that direct dependence cannot be proven beyond all reasonable doubt.

In the seventh and final chapter we draw some modest and provisional conclusions on the shadowy personage of Aëtius himself and on the title of his book. As for its structure, contents and method, that will be the subject for the next volume. At this point it is perhaps worth emphasizing that this structure needs to be studied on at least three levels. The first level is that of the macro-structure, or division into books, which to some extent was investigated by Diels. But the two other levels did not receive the

⁷ Daiber (1980).

⁸ Dihle (1989) 287 oddly still ascribes this work to Galen himself.

⁹ Pasquali (1910).

attention they deserve. In the second place there is the structure at the micro-level within the books themselves. Individual chapters are often arranged in series in accordance with question-types based on the various categories under which a given subject may be investigated, such as its substance, quality, quantity (e.g. number, parts), place, and so on.¹⁰ In the third place the internal organization of the majority of the individual chapters, with its clearly recognizable diaeretical and diaphonic structure, needs to be carefully examined. The study of these two further organizational levels will be the chief objective of our second volume, though the issues involved will be raised to some extent in the present one, as indeed they have already been in preliminary publications.¹¹ Full discussion of other matters which also have been at issue in these earlier publications, such as the relation of Aëtius' *Placita* to earlier collections of *placita*, and in particular to both Theophrastus' *Physikai doxai* (about which Diels said both too much and too little) and the dialectical overviews in Aristotle's *pragmateiai* (which are practically ignored by Diels), will have to be postponed to a third volume.

There is a final issue which we wish to state with particular emphasis at the outset of this project. A chief characteristic of the wide-spread and refractory material that constitutes the doxographical tradition (or rather traditions) is its fluid and continually shifting nature. This characteristic Diels, on account of the prejudice against 'frauds' mentioned above, almost entirely failed to see. We are not dealing with sacred works whose text was considered to be authoritative, also not with literature in the sense of *belles lettres* where in principle the text should remain as it had been published by its author, and also not with important technical works written by recognized masters, which likewise are to a great extent immune to change. Instead we have to do with a lower form of literature serving a variety of eminently practical and didactic purposes. The aim of this type of doxographical writing is to provide useful information about physical tenets. The authors of handbooks of this nature are under no obligation whatsoever to hand on the information to be found in the works

¹⁰ This issue will be dealt with in a later volume; for a preliminary treatment see above, n. 6.

¹¹ See above, n. 4, n. 6.

composed by their predecessors unchanged.¹² Their contents may be amplified or abridged¹³ and their structure modified, as the developing situation or the specific interests of a particular author or school require, and the witnesses *for* the tradition are therefore integral parts *of* this tradition. In a wider sense this also holds for authors, pagans as well as Christians, philosophers as well as physicians or other scientists, and even *littérateurs*, who make use of collections of *placita* for the purposes of illustration, discussion, refutation, selective confirmation, or even delectation. These various ways of appropriation tell us a great deal about the aims and purposes of the authors of the *Placita* literature, and they shall therefore be dealt with as fully as possible in our inquiries.

The close collaboration of two scholars in the preparation of a

¹² This also holds for modern handbooks, think for instance of the various editions of Überweg's *Grundriß der Geschichte der Philosophie* (we note also that a paraphrasing *epitome* of an earlier edition of the volume on ancient philosophy, with additions, was published by a Dutch professor of philosophy under his own name). Or one might compare dictionaries of modern languages, which both lose words or meanings of words that have gone out of fashion and acquire new ones, and which exist in both shorter and longer versions. From antiquity we may for instance cite Verrius Flaccus' immense but lost *De verborum significatu*, a work not only based on the research of its author but also on a variety of excerpted earlier glossaries and related literature (see Bona (1963)), abridged by Festus to a treatise in twenty books in the 2nd cent. CE (extant beginning with M in a badly damaged single manuscript). The complete Festus was drastically abridged by Paulus Diaconus in the 9th cent. and also used by authors of medieval glossaries. Festus also wrote another work, the lost *Priscorum verborum cum exemplis*, in which he omitted words that had become entirely obsolete and did not hesitate to express disagreement with Verrius (Festus 242.18ff. Lindsay). See Grafton (1983) 134ff., and Kaster (1995) 194ff. who provides full references to recent scholarly literature. A perhaps even better example is the Homeric lexicon of Apollonius Sophista, extant in epitomized form in a single 10th cent. ms. as well as in a number of papyrus fragments which differ considerably from each other and from the late *epitome*; see Haslam (1994) 108f., 114.

¹³ Think for instance of the extant ps.Aristotelian *De virtutibus et vitiis*, a little Peripatetic handbook which was reworked and incorporated into a Stoic update, viz. ps.Andronicus *De passionibus* which is also extant and even available in a variety of versions (the square brackets of Glibert-Thirry (1977) conforming to the translation of Willem van Moerbeke are beside the point), or of the *Divisiones aristoteleae* of which both shorter and longer versions survive. See Mansfeld (1992a) 82f. n. 80-84, Dorandi (1996). One may also point to the numerous and variously interdependent chronological *Chronicles* of later and late antiquity and the early middle ages; see e.g. Croke (1983c), (1990a), (1990b) 171ff and Adler (1989). For the issue relating to ancient (and modern!) text-books in general and the *Technē* attributed to Dionysius Thrax in particular see Robins (1995).

monograph or series of monographs is a comparatively rare phenomenon in the humanities. We decided to pool our resources and work together about eight years ago, when it emerged that we were both studying the same tradition and there was a far-reaching convergence in our views. David Runia had started with the presence of Aristotle in the doxographical tradition,¹⁴ but soon felt the need to move on to Aëtius and the traditions deriving from Aëtius. Jaap Mansfeld, who had been working on 'doxography' for some years and published papers concerned with various issues in the years 1985-88, was focusing on the tradition from Aristotle to Aëtius (and beyond) and on Hippolytus. Lovers of *Quellenforschung* will enjoy trying to determine the provenance of the differing parts of the book, since we are quite well aware that we have differing styles of writing and methods of organizing the findings of our research. Without wishing to spoil the fun, we think it worthwhile to reveal that the introduction and chapter one were primarily the work of Jaap Mansfeld, chapter two was a joint effort, and that David Runia had the prime responsibility for chapters three to seven. It goes without saying that we have read and commented on each other's work on numerous occasions, and have had numerous animated discussions to which we look back with great pleasure. It is perhaps less expected, and therefore all the more worth saying, that we have reached full agreement on all the main issues, and have agreed to differ only on one or two minor points.

At the end of the volume we have included two indices. The first, an index of modern scholars is combined with the bibliography. The second is a selective index of ancient names, in which the names of ancient philosophers referred to *in* the doxographies are for the most part not included for reasons explained below on p. 339. Readers wishing to follow the train of the argument will also find the detailed tables of contents at the beginning of each chapter useful.



¹⁴ See the project announced in Runia and Bos (1986), entitled 'Aristotle in the ancient doxographical tradition' (deliberately parallel to the title of Düring's famous work, (1957)). But it soon emerged that the project could not be carried out until the entire doxographical tradition had been analysed anew.

In the course of the years the authors have incurred so many debts that they hardly know where to begin in recording them. Both would like to emphasize how much they owe to the institutions at which they have been able to do their research—Utrecht University, The Free University at Amsterdam, Leiden University—and especially thank the long-suffering staff of the respective University Libraries. Until 1990 David Runia's research was generously funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (N.W.O.). In 1986/87 and 1995 he had the privilege of being a member and a summer visitor of the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, U.S.A. In 1990 he spent the year at the Institut für Altertumswissenschaft of the University of Münster as a Fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. All these institutions are warmly thanked for their various forms of support. The vital contribution of Dr. T. L. Tieleman has already been mentioned above. *Nomina sunt odiosa*, but of the numerous colleagues and friends that have given us assistance we would especially like to thank Keimpe Algra, Tjitze Baarda, Matthias Baltes, Han Baltussen, Bert van den Berg, William M. Calder III, Tiziano Dorandi, Milko van Gool, Pieter van der Horst, Lodewijk Janssen and F. Oniga Farra. Henri van de Laar helped us manfully with the compilation of the bibliography. The Utrecht student assistants Ivo Geradts and Johannes Rustenburg spent many hours pushing library carts stacked with books and journals, for which they too are warmly thanked. Finally we wish to express our gratitude to Gonni Runia-Deenick for doing her usual efficient job in preparing the camera-ready copy of the text.

Jaap Mansfeld
David Runia

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CHAPTER ONE

THE AËTIUS HYPOTHESIS BEFORE AND UP TO DIELS

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1. *Preliminaries*

One of Hermann Diels' chief claims to fame¹ is his detailed reconstruction of the doxographical tradition in ancient Greek philosophy. In 1879, at the age of thirty-one, he published the investigations collected together in his monumental *Doxographi Graeci* (hereafter *DG*) which has dominated the field ever since, and deeply influenced the study of Greek philosophy. In the labyrinthine introduction ('Prolegomena') to this work Diels strove to disentangle the various forms and ways in which ancient writings (or parts of such writings) which purport to record the historiography of philosophy and/or philosophical problems have reached us, and to establish how they relate to each other. This reconstruction and the methods used by him to achieve his purpose will be scrutinized in the next chapter.² The aim of the present chapter is different, namely to place Diels' achievement in its scholarly and historical context.³

¹ For a short, rather superficial biography-cum-bibliography of Diels (1848–1922) see Schütrumpf (1990).

² For the influence on Diels of the stemmatic methodology which goes by the name of Lachmann see Mansfeld (1986a) 1f., and the imprecise account of Paquet & al. (1988-9) 1.13. See further below n. 27, and Ch. 2, §4.

³ This has hitherto not been attempted. The brief survey dealing with literature concerning ps.Plutarch only at Lachenaud (1993) 15f., which begins with Vossius, is quite inadequate.

We should begin by listing the members of this family of ancient writings in respect of which Diels worked out his fundamental Aëtius hypothesis and which are to be further investigated in the present volume. They are:

- (a) ps.Plutarch's *Placita philosophorum* (hereafter P), available to Diels in J. Reiske's edition of Plutarch 9.467-609 (Leipzig 1778), in D. Wytttenbach's edition of the *Moralia* 4.343-455 (Oxford 1797, repr. Leipzig) and in F. Dübner's edition of the *Moralia* 2.1065-1114 (Paris 1841);
- (b) the greater part of ps.Galen's *Historia philosopha* (hereafter G), available in Diels' own edition (1870) which had replaced the *editio princeps* (Venice 1497);
- (c) numerous excerpts concerned with natural philosophy to be found in Stobaeus' *Eclogae physicae* (hereafter S), available to Diels in the edition of A. Meineke (Leipzig 1855-7);
- (d) similar abstracts in Theodoret's *Graecarum affectionum curatio* (hereafter T), available to Diels in the edition of Th. Gaisford (Oxford 1839), reprinted in Migne, *Patrologia graeca* 83.783-1152 (Paris 1859).

The name Aëtius (hereafter occasionally abridged to A) is known from one source only, viz. T 2.95, 4.31, and 5.16. At 4.31 the Christian author advises those of his readers who prefer to disbelieve that the Greek philosophers utterly disagree among themselves to read 'Αετίου τὴν Περὶ ἀρεσκόντων ξυναγωγὴν and P's Περὶ τῶν τοῖς φιλοσόφοις δοξάντων ἐπιτομὴν as well as Porphyry's Φιλόσοφος ἱστορία.⁴ Theodoret here helpfully gives not only names, but also the titles of the books he refers to.

Diels' 'Prolegomena' to the *DG* is not only impressive but also to a high degree obfuscating. His solution to the problems presented by the difficult and stubborn material he was dealing with is in large part original. Yet he would never have been able to compose his *opus magnum* if he had worked in a different environment. His debt to his teacher and *Doktorvater* Usener, which is duly acknowledged in the dedication of the *DG*, can hardly be overestimated. But his references to other nineteenth-century German scholars working in the same field are unsatisfactory and largely cryptic. Moreover via Usener and the other scholars just mentioned he

⁴ At *DG* 47f. all three passages from T are quoted. We present the texts below, Ch. 2, p. 77.

was also indebted to scholarly and philosophical traditions which, as we shall see, began as early as the sixteenth century. By the time he wrote these had largely been forgotten

In his reconstruction Diels made a number of moves which were both innovative and decisive. They may be summarized as follows:⁵

- (1) he proved that the chapters on physics in G depend on a slightly fuller version of P;⁶
- (2) he established that only part of the excerpts concerned with physics in S can be placed next to what is found in P, and argued that a number of other physical excerpts found in S are to be attributed to a separate source, viz. Arius Didymus (hereafter AD), and that further material in S derives from works dealing with the interpretation of Homer;⁷
- (3) for the first time ever he adduced the similar material in T;⁸
- (4) P, most of these physical excerpts in T, and those in S minus the AD material are proved to derive from a common source, the *Placita* compiled by a person identified as Aëtius;⁹
- (5) A's material, in its turn, is argued to derive from an earlier source, named *Vetusta placita* by Diels,¹⁰ on which also authors such as Cicero and Varro depend.

We may illustrate this reconstruction by means of a stemma:

⁵ For a more detailed analysis see below, Ch. 2, §2.

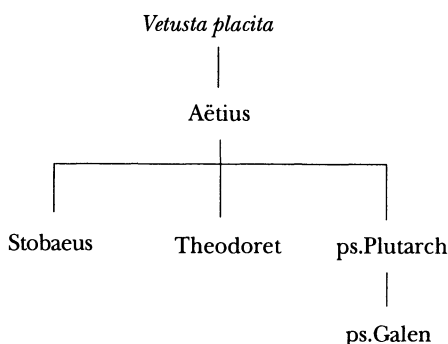
⁶ Already in his dissertation (1870), then at *DG* 233ff.

⁷ *DG* 69ff. on AD, 88ff. on the Homer literature; the discovery that a number of texts in Stobaeus correspond to passages in ps.Plut. *De Homero* is reported in Diels' letter to Usener of May 9 1876, Ehlers (1992) 1.115 (for the complicated issue of the *homerica* cf. e.g. Mansfeld (1985)). The physical fragments of AD are printed *DG* 447ff. Zeller *PhdGr* (1880b) 3.1.614ff. immediately accepted Diels' AD hypothesis. See further Kahn (1983), Inwood (1989), and below §8 on Meineke and Volkmann, with nn. 153 and 154 on Jonsius on AD. The attribution to AD of the majority of the anonymous fragments in S has been challenged by Göransson (1995) 203ff. and, long before, by Thiaucourt (1885) 21ff. (who is criticized too cavalierly by Lortzing (1885) and (1899) 171; Lortzing swallowed the *DG* hook, line and sinker, see (1899) 158ff.). In the present chapter we limit ourselves to some aspects of the history of the AD hypothesis up to Diels. See further below, Ch. 4, p. 238ff.

⁸ *DG* 45ff.

⁹ *DG* 47ff., 99ff.

¹⁰ *DG* 181ff.



That both P and G, and also P and S, are closely related had been seen by others long before Diels, as will become clear in the remainder of this chapter. Neither was Diels the first to mention the name Aëtius in this connection. An inquiry into the modern history of the study of these ancient sources is not only an exercise that is interesting in itself, but also deepens our understanding of Diels' solution. The originality of his contribution will stand out more clearly when set off against the backdrop of the ideas of his predecessors. In outline the more important of these earlier efforts can be presented as follows.¹¹

In 1505 Guillaume Budé published a Latin translation of P in which he interpolated translated passages from G, while in 1541–2 Julius Martianus Rota published a Latin translation of G in which he interpolated translated passages from P. Clearly both Budé and Rota were aware that P and G are closely related. This was explicitly stated by Conrad Gessner in a work published in 1561–2, in which he stated that G and P should be coalesced to make a single treatise. In a work published in 1571 the philosopher Francesco Patrizi, anticipating part of Diels' hypothesis, argued that parts of G are derived from P. He moreover argued that G should be attributed to a certain Aëtius whose name he had found in T. Patrizi, to the best of our knowledge, is the *first* scholar to mention this name. In 1576–7 the editor of one of the Giuntine editions of Galen in Latin translation, Gerolamo Mercuriale, added a note before Rota's Latin version of G in which he pointed out that the tract is not genuine and should perhaps be ascribed to

¹¹ Documentation for what follows will be given at the appropriate sections of this chapter.

Aëtius, for information about whom, like Patrizi before him, he referred to T. He also pointed at the close affinity between G and P. None of these men was as yet aware of S.

In 1575 the editor of the *editio princeps* of the *Eclogae physicae* of Stobaeus, Willem Canter, argued that P derives from S and so generously supplemented the text of S from P. It may be concluded that he was aware of the close affinity between P and S. Nowhere, however, does he make any mention of G. His discoveries concerning S went largely unnoticed, and the study of P and G continued to dominate scholarly interest.

In an encyclopedic work published in 1593 Antonio Possevino, referring to T, stated that G is by Aëtius. In 1618 Gerardus Johannes Vossius argued that P is not by Plutarch of Chaeronea but by a later author also called Plutarch. In his influential book of 1659 Johannes Jonsius believed that Possevino was the first to formulate the Aëtius-hypothesis. It is apparent, therefore, that he did not know about Patrizi and Mercuriale. In 1708 the authoritative polymath Johann Albrecht Fabricius added to the confusion by ascribing Mercuriale's note to Rota. In 1742 the great historian Jacob Brucker pointed out that the authenticity of P is in doubt, but added that it is virtually identical with G, so that these two tracts may supplement each other. Eduardo Corsini, who edited the tract in 1750, argued that P is genuine. He further believed that G, written (as he believed) by Aëtius, was dependent on P and other sources, while S too was indebted to P. Corsini therefore brought back S into the picture. Then A. H. L. Heeren, the second editor of Stobaeus' *Eclogae* after Canter (and of the *Florilegium* after Gessner), argued in 1785 and 1801 that S excerpted a fuller version of P. In 1787 Beck, another editor of P, argued that P is an *epitome* of a work by the real Plutarch and that P, G and S must derive from a common source.

In his bibliography of Galen's works published in 1823 (printed in Kühn's edition of Galen) J. G. C. Ackermann followed Fabricius and so ascribed Mercuriale's note to Rota.

An entirely new element was introduced by the fourth editor of S, August Meineke, in 1859. Meineke argued that AD is the source of S, and perhaps also of P and Hippolytus' *Philosophumena*, but said nothing about G. Richard Volkmann, in a paper published in 1869, adapted Meineke's hypothesis and argued that P and S derive from the same source, viz. AD, which according to

him is also the source of G. It was in the same year 1869 that the Bonn Faculty set the *Preisfrage* which formulated the task Diels was to accomplish with such a thundering success.

What may already be pointed out at this point is that the achievement of savants such as Budé, Rota, Patrizi, and Canter is comparable to that of Diels, though their knowledge of the field was much more limited and their methods and results were much less scholarly. They too sought to restore and reconstruct a lost work, but their first aim was to produce a book that would be *useful* for philosophers, historians of philosophy and others.

At the time that he wrote his dissertation of 1870 in which, without knowing that Patrizi had already made this suggestion long ago, he proved that G depends on P, Diels had not yet heard the name Aëtius. He only took notice when Wachsmuth in his 1871 review of the dissertation reprinted Mercuriale's note. The Meineke hypothesis about AD as revised by Volkmann was a great help too, though Diels had to revise it quite thoroughly and to reduce it to its just proportions, which he did brilliantly in the *DG* of 1879. It should be pointed out, however, that Volkmann in a self-critical paper published in 1871 had paved the way to a large extent by discussing the parallels between S, P and G in detail and, most importantly, performed the indispensable ground-work by proving that AD cannot be the source of P. Finally we should point out that the *Vetusta placita* hypothesis is also not Diels' own invention but that of Usener, as has become clear from the recently published Diels–Usener correspondence, and that it was to some extent anticipated by Volkmann.

2. *Diels' hypothesis in the making*

In his autobiography Diels tells us how he came to study the *Placita*.¹² His teacher and future *Doktorvater* Hermann Usener (1834–1905) gave him the idea and was the great inspiring force behind the project.¹³ Usener had started work on the doxographical

¹² Kern (1927) 34ff. Apart from the excerpts in Kern this work remained unpublished, and the ms. is now lost (cf. Ehlers (1992) 2.412), but Kern was able to quote from it in his work, the only reasonably full account of Diels' life that has been written. Some information on the theme of the present paragraph is to be found in Paquet & al. (1988-9) 1.12f.

¹³ Short biography by Bremmer (1990); cf. also Bursian (1883) 844f. Usener was appointed to the Bonn chair as Ritschl's successor in 1866; he

traditions in his seminal Bonn dissertation of 1858, *Analecta theophrastea* (dedicated to his own *Doktorvater* Friedrich Wilhelm Ritschl and to Christian August Brandis).¹⁴ It should be noted that Jacob Bernays is said to have suggested the theme to Usener.¹⁵ Usener ascribed the majority of the Theophrastean excerpts in Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* to a lost work which he called *Physicorum opiniones*,¹⁶ argued that the extant opusculum, or large fragment, traditionally entitled *De sensibus* originally was a section of this treatise,¹⁷ and edited the fragments he found in Simplicius and other authors. This hypothesis concerning Theophrastus was a revision of earlier suggestions. In 1813 the then still very young Brandis had put Theophrastus on the map by arguing that the paragraph on Xenophanes at Simpl. *In Phys.* 22.22ff. derives from Theophrastus without, however, attributing it to a specific work:¹⁸

Simplicium autem nescio cur alium, quam Theophrastum esse secutum, cum et initio hujus prae se ferat auctoritatem, atque se eam deservisse, ad aliamque se adplicuisse, ne uno quidem significet verbo.

In 1818 Theophrastus' editor Johann Gottlob Schneider attempted to identify the treatise at issue and posited that Theophrastus' *De sensibus* 'was part of the *Physical history* repeatedly quoted by Simplicius. A large number of other passages excerpted from there by Simplicius lead me to consider that the treatise *On sense*

remained an admirer of Ritschl all his life. On Ritschl (1806-1876) see the short biography by Vogt (1990).

¹⁴ Usener (1858), repr. (1912) 1.50ff. Chr. Aug. Brandis (1790-1867) was from 1821 ordinarius for philosophy at Bonn.

¹⁵ See the references to two letters by Ritschl (which we have not seen) in the admirable and moving biography of Bernays (1824-1881) by Bach (1974) 219.

¹⁶ Usener (1858) 25ff. = (1912) 71ff.

¹⁷ Usener (1858) 27 = (1912) 72. The status of this piece is still controversial, see Baltussen (1993) 238ff., Mansfeld (1996) 181f.

¹⁸ Brandis (1813) 17. Compare Brandis (1835-65) Bd. 3.1 (1860) 292: 'Meine längst gehegte und mehrfach ausgesprochene Überzeugung, daß Simplicius einen guten Theil seiner Nachrichten über die älteren griechischen Philosophen diesem Werk [of Theophrastus] entlehnt habe, hat durch Useners sorgfältige Zusammenstellung der Bruchstücke [Usener (1858)] eine Bestätigung erhalten'. *Ibid.* 291f. interesting speculations on e.g. the contents and structure of Theophrastus' treatise as a critical history of early Greek philosophy: exposition of the doctrines followed by criticism, and a 'dogmenhistorische' treatment: first the principles, then possibly the tenets dealing with motion, space, time etc.

and sensibles was excerpted on its own and entire from the *Physical history*.¹⁹ It is apparent that Schneider ascribes the Simplicius fragments and the *De sensibus* not to the treatise Usener called *Physicorum opiniones* but to the *Physics*. Leonhard Spengel disagreed;²⁰ he argued that the *De sensibus* belongs with the series of Theophrastus' lectures on subjects in natural philosophy which were composed in the same 'Folge und Ordnung' as those of Aristotle which are still extant, and that the historical comments are intended as a clarification of Aristotle's allusions. According to Spengel, therefore, the *De sensibus* belongs in the context of the *Physics* without being part of this work. Diels in the end faithfully incorporated the Usener hypothesis in the *DG*, and both Schneider's suggestion and Spengel's alternative theory were forgotten.

As Diels himself records, in 1868 Usener lectured on the history of Greek literature and in his introductory classes discussed the sources at length. He also spoke of the sources for the history of philosophy:²¹

Die neuesten Ergebnisse seiner und der Mitforscher Arbeiten²²

¹⁹ Schneider (1821) 141: 'Historicae Physicae pars fuisse ... a Simplicio saepius laudatae'; 233: '... de sensu et sensibilibus libellum solum integrum e physica historia Theophrasti excerptum ut putem, faciunt loca plura alia inde a Simplicio excerpta'. Schneider's dates are 1750-1822.

²⁰ Spengel (1849) 145: Aristotle 'setzt die Kenntnisse dessen, was seine Vorgänger gesagt haben, als bekannt voraus. ... Schon den Zeitgenossen ... muss das Verständnis dadurch erschwert worden sein; denn Theophrastus gibt im genannten Büchlein über die Sinne eine historische Entwicklung, prüft die verschiedenen Ansichten aller Vorgänger über diesen Punkt von den ersten bedeutenden Namen bis auf Platon und Aristoteles [*sic*], und bildet dadurch für des letzteren gleichnamige Schrift *περὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ αἰσθητῶν* einen integrierenden unschätzbaren Commentar'. Spengel (1803-80) was professor of classics at the University of Munich; Usener attended his lectures five years later, in the winter semester of 1853-54. Rose (1854) 70f. is confused as to the distinction between the *Physics* and the doxographical work (Valentin Rose, 1829-1916, director of the manuscript department of the Royal Library at Berlin).

²¹ Cited by Kern (1927) 35.

²² Usener undoubtedly spoke about his own dissertation and may have mentioned the current investigations into the manuscript traditions by Wachsmuth, cooperation with whom had begun when both men were teaching at the Joachimsthalsche Gymnasium at Berlin in 1860. He will have spoken of Meineke (1855-57), (1859) and (1860-64), and may also have referred to the publications of earlier scholars. The first instalment of Nietzsche's studies on Diogenes Laërtius was published in the last fascicle of the *Rheinisches Museum* for 1868: i.e. Nietzsche (1868); cf. Bormann and Carpitella (1982) 75ff. and below, text to n. 43, and n. 45. On Nietzsche's Laërtian studies see Barnes (1986). Bernays seems to have regarded the issue as

hatte er [*sic*, Usener] hier ausführlich mitgeteilt und dabei auch zuletzt die Verzweigung der Placitaüberlieferung von Theophrast bis Stobäus nach dem, was er damals darüber zu wissen glaubte, vorgetragen.

Usener referred to the 'Ergänzung des Stobäus durch das Florilegium des Johannes Damascenus' (a new edition of Stobaeus had recently been published by Meineke)²³ but made a slip and said 'Nikolaus Damascenus' instead. Diels, who recounts that he used to call on the Useners more often than other students,²⁴ told him about the mistake the same afternoon. Thereupon Usener showed him his working papers and the collations (mostly by Wachsmuth) pertaining to the 'Placitafrage', and said:²⁵

er selbst habe die Bearbeitung der Placita angefangen und die Kollationen zu Galen, Stobäus und Johannes Damascenus, die Wachsmuth besorgt (habe), hier liegen. 'Ich selbst [...] bin mit anderen Dingen noch auf Jahre beschäftigt. Wollen Sie vielleicht die Bearbeitung der Quellen übernehmen, wie sich die drei Placitasammlungen Plutarch, Stobäus (Damascenus) und Galen zueinander verhalten?'

desperate, see the text of Bernays' lecture of October 18 1848 *De scriptorum qui fragmenta Heraclitea attulerunt auctoritate*, published from the *Nachlaß* at Usener (1885) 1.66ff., as Usener tells us in a footnote. Here Bernays—who admittedly is concerned with the traditions concerning Heraclitus only, but his words bear a wider implication—says, p. 72 (our italics): 'Sed iam sufficient haec exempla ut pro certo accipiat non satis diligenter Stobaeum, Clementem reliquosque huius generis scriptores verum Heracliti librum fidaque *de eius placitis testimonia* a spuriis suppositiciisque segregasse. Verum certam quandam normam regulemque communem ex qua nos hodie ea discernere possimus quae inperite illi confuderunt, neque mihi contigit invenire neque, ut res est, umquam inveniri posse existimo.' There is no footnote by Usener indicating that Bernays changed his mind, either before or after the publication of the *DG*.

²³ Meineke (1857). For this supplement to Stobäus see below, Ch. 4, p. 267f.

²⁴ Because, he says (Kern (1927) 35, he had been christened by Usener's father-in-law, Kirchenrat Dilthey. But compare the way Jacob Bernays as a student was welcomed at Ritschl's house, was allowed to use his library every day, was mothered by Mrs Ritschl (of Jewish birth like Bernays but baptized in early youth), etc. Ritschl, who also found other ways to assist Bernays financially, even bought the expensive edition of Aristotle by Bekker for him to enable him to follow a private seminar on the historical sections of the *Metaphysics* in the house of Geheimrat Brandis (for whom see above, n. 14). See Bach (1974) 46ff., 53, who in part bases his account on the journals in the *Nachlaß* of Bernays which was destroyed in the last war, and Momigliano (1994) 153, who fails to refer to Bach's book in the later version of his 1969 paper. We may note that the Bonn professors really did something to stimulate their brilliant students. Cf. also below, n. 41.

²⁵ Kern (1927) 35.

Note that Usener even according to Diels' reminiscences at first did not suggest that Diels undertake the task of editing these texts. Diels took Usener's material home and immediately set to work. He compared P, G, S, but also a number of other authors:²⁶

Die wundervollen Anmerkungen der Zellerschen Geschichte der Philosophie waren meine Leitsterne, nach denen ich allmählich die Ertrag gebenden späteren Kommentatoren und Patres aufspürte und durchsah. So wuchs von Woche zu Woche der Haufen der Placita, und Ende Januar [1870] konnte ich an die Ordnung und Gestaltung gehen. Es gelang, der Masse Herr zu werden und Hals über Kopf in flüchtigem Latein die Preisaufgabe zum letzten März fertigzustellen.

The *Preisaufrage* to which Diels refers here, more on which below, was published by the Philosophische Fakultät of the University of Bonn in 1869; this was a yearly competition. We now are also able to read two important letters containing information on his researches which Diels wrote to Wilamowitz in 1870. In the first of these, dated January 22 1870, he speaks of his inquiries into the relation between Stobaeus and Joh. Damascenus ('so habe ich die ganze Florilegienfrage von vorn bis hinten durchgepaukt u[nd] ziemlich niedergeschrieben') and lists his preliminary results. We may note that these went much further than the part pertaining to G published in his dissertation:²⁷

Für die Hauptaufgabe habe ich bis jetzt folgende Resultate erlangt: 1) Pseudogalen ist elende Abschrift aus Ps. Plutarch d[e] placit[is]. Was mer darin steht aus Stobäus pp ist moderne Interpolation des 16. [sic] Jarhunderts. 2) Hippolytos Abh[andlungen] über griech-[ische] Phil[osophie] basiren auf einem Tractat, der aus Sotion (διαδοχαί) und Theophrast περί φυσικῶν zusammengesetzt ist. 3) Der Archetypus v[on] Plut[arch] u[nd] Stob[äus] lag Philodem π. εὐσεβείας vor, aus dem Cic[ero] d. nat. deor. I,10 pp geflossen ist.

²⁶ Kern (1927) 36f. We may note that Zeller *PhdGr* (1856–68²), the edition used by Diels, indeed provides copious references in the footnotes, often citing P and S on a par, but does not discuss the problem of the sources. One understands that Mullach (1860) and Ritter and Preller (1869⁴) were of no help at all. For Eduard Zeller (1814–1908) see Bursian (1883) 917f., Zeller (1908), Diels (1908), Dilthey (1908), Cambiano (1989), Isnardi Parente (1989); eulogy in Wilamowitz (1927) 67 (Engl. transl. 149f.). These references are given because there is no article on Zeller in Briggs and Calder (1990).

²⁷ We are grateful to William M. Calder III for a preview (Sept. 1995) of Braun & al. (1995b), and for permission to quote. The quoted passage is at p. 19. For the term 'archetypus' and the implied stemma of the tradition see above, n. 2, and below, Ch. 2, §4.

Auch Varro bediente sich wahrscheinlich dessen in seinen logistoricis.

In a letter dated May 25 1870 Diels triumphantly tells Wilamowitz that he has finished his work:²⁸

Als ich Dein letztes scriptum bekam, war ich gerade damit beschäftigt, das pretiosum opus in 11stündiger Tagelönerei abzuschreiben, welches saure negotium mir dann auch mit zuhülfnahme von Kaibel so überraschend gelang, daß ich am 2^{ten} Mai nicht nur die 227 Folioseiten abgeschrieben, sondern sogar eingebunden mit dem Motto iuvat integros accedere fontis aus Lukrez dem verblüfften Sekretariatskaffer an den Kopf schmeißen konnte.

Diels won the prize on August 3 1870; he refers to the theme of the competition in the preface to his edition of G, which was the part of his investigations he published as a doctoral dissertation (the degree was awarded on 22 December 1870).²⁹ Wachsmuth, in his important review-article on this dissertation,³⁰ published the theme of the contest, which it is certainly worthwhile to quote, because the original document has been lost in the last war:³¹

naturalium quaestionum a philosophis Graecis agitarum historiam constat doctissimo quodam opere et gravissimo enarratam fuisse, cuius hodieque tres extant epitomae, quinque Plutarchi qui inscribuntur de philosophorum opinionibus libri, personati Galeni

²⁸ Braun & al. (1995b) 29. The motto is Lucr. I 927.

²⁹ Diels (1870) 1. This publication is to be distinguished from the manuscript he sent to the *Fakultät* which was lost in the last war. Dr L. F. Janssen informs us that Diels in 1870 read two papers to the Bonner Philolog. Verein, viz. 16 Febr., *Die Sammlungen der placita philosophorum*, and 23 Oct., *Über die Kataloge der plutarchischen Schriften*. We do not know whether these are extant.

³⁰ Wachsmuth (1871b) 709f. On C. Wachsmuth (1837–1905), one of Ritschl's more important pupils and his son-in-law (he also edited vols. III, IV and V of Ritschl's *Opuscula philologica*, 1877–9, and the Nietzsche-Ritschl correspondence in Nietzsche's *Gesammelte Briefe* Bd. III 1, 1904) see Bursian (1883) 813ff., and the biography and bibliography by Müller (1907). He was Privatdozent in Bonn in 1863 and Ordinarius in Marburg from 1864, in Göttingen from 1869, in Heidelberg from 1877, and in Leipzig from 1886. We owe these references to Dr L. F. Janssen.

³¹ The *Aktenstück* that survives only refers to the title of the *Preisauflage* and to the fact that Diels won the prize (letter of Dr Paul Schmidt of the Archiv der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 8 Oct. 1987). The theme of the *Preisauflage* is summarized in Zeller's review, Zeller (1871) 164: 'das werk ..., welches von den pseudoplutarchischen Placita, den entsprechenden abschnitten des Stobäus in den Eklogen, und der φιλόσοφος ιστορία des falschen Galen als ihre gemeinschaftliche grundlage vorausgesetzt wird'.

φιλόσοφος ἱστορία, Eclogae a Stobaeo inter physicas receptae; idem illud opus iam Ciceronis aetate cognitum lectitatum compilatum esse indiciis haud obscuris proditur. optat igitur ordo, ut quaecunque sive ex integro fonte sive ex epitomis inde ab illo aevo usque ad J. Damascenum³² veteres scriptores petisse videntur, omnia conquirantur' etc.

In the detailed and precise question formulated in this *Preis-aufgabe*, therefore, a common source is postulated for P, G, and the excerpts in S. Furthermore, it is assumed that this source was already available in the time of Cicero.³³ Evidently the *status quaestionis* had not advanced much beyond Krische's formulation in his voluminous study (still worth reading) of the Epicurean doxography concerning the gods at Cic. *ND* 1.25-41, published in 1840.³⁴ Krische had argued that Cicero's source is the Epicurean philosopher Phaedrus, and compared Cicero's account of Thales' theology with the parallels in P (which he takes to be an *epitome* of a treatise by Plutarch of Chaeronea), S ('Stobäus, der anerkannt seinen Gewährsmann am vollständigsten excerptirt'), and G.³⁵ He concluded that these accounts are sufficiently similar to warrant the postulation of a common source for P, S and G which has to be dated before Cicero, and which moreover was dependent on Phaedrus, the same way as Cicero himself.³⁶

³² This was a misascription. The collections of biblical and patristic passages ('Ἱερὰ παράλληλα) ascribed to John of Damascus or deriving from a collection ascribed to him are to be distinguished from the collections of non-Christian sayings which were compiled in the ninth and tenth cent. from earlier collections, among which a complete (or much more complete) text of Stobaeus. At a later stage, the material from these two different traditions was combined and became the source for other gnomologia in Greek. See the overview of Richard (1964), the excellent account of Gutas (1975) 9ff., and the remarks of Kindstrand (1991) 8f., 20f., 25ff.

³³ Cf. the abstract from Diels' letter quoted above, text to n. 27.

³⁴ Krische (1840), subsequently discussed at some length by Diels in the *DG*, 122ff., and praised *ibid.* 122: 'A. Krischeus libro sagacitatis et doctrinae plenissimo' (praise for predecessors is a rare phenomenon in the *DG*); the account of Phaedrus is at Krische (1840) 24ff. August Bernhard Krische was born in 1809, was Privatdozent from 1832 and *professor extraordinarius* of philosophy from 1842 at Göttingen and died young, in 1848. Other works by Krische are *De societatis a Pythagora in urbe Crotoniatorum conditae scopo politico commentatio* (Göttingen 1830) and *Über Cicero's Akademika* (Göttingen 1845), the latter of which is also referred to in the *DG*. It is a peculiar coincidence that he was 31 years old when he published his important study, the same age as that of Diels in the year of publication of the *DG*. On Krische see also below, n. 159.

³⁵ Krische (1840) 39f.

³⁶ Krische (1840) 40.

Verfolgen wir dieses Resultat [viz. that Cicero, P, S and G convey the same information] noch weiter, so ergibt sich, dass die Quelle, woraus Plutarch—denn an ihn werden wir doch immer denken müssen, wenn auch die jetzige Schrift von den Lehrsätzen der Philosophen höchst wahrscheinlich nur mittelbar von ihm herrührt—Stobäus und der falsche Galenus, ein jeder nach seinem Zwecke, die Lehrsätze der älteren Denker schöpften, älter als Cicero ist. Wenn dieser gleich Anfangs den Phädrus [scil., Cicero's immediate source according to Krische] benutzte, worauf wir bald hinweisen werden, so entsteht für den Epikureer die Frage, aus welchem Schriftsteller seine Exzerpte geflossen sind; höher vermögen wir nicht hinaufzusteigen.

But we should go on with Diels. In his now forgotten dissertation he proved³⁷ (as he wrote to Wilamowitz) that the Greek text of ps.Galen's *Historia philosopha* available in Kühn's edition³⁸ is unreliable, because Kühn reprints the unreliable text of Chartier.³⁹ He further showed that Chartier (1572–1654) had reprinted the Latin translation of the Venetian physician and scholar Julius Martianus Rota.⁴⁰ A number of times Chartier had modified his Greek text in accordance with this translation, and added further passages from the text of P. Diels further argued that the substantial sections of G which correspond in a striking way to large chunks of P derive from a slightly fuller version of the latter's text than we have, and so eliminated the rather wide-spread assumption that P and G derive from a common ancestor *pari passu*. Comparison

³⁷ Diels (1870) 4ff.

³⁸ Kühn (1821–33) 19.222–345 (published in 1830). On Karl Gottlob Kühn (1754–1840) see Bursian (1883) 931.

³⁹ Chartier (1679) vol. 1 t. 2, 21–58; note that the edition began to be published from 1638 and that the volume seen by us—also referred to by Diels—is a reprint. From the somewhat confused account of Kern (1927) 36 it is clear that during his work in 1868 Diels had already noticed that Kühn's Greek text of G had been interpolated from P. He told Usener, who immediately went with Diels to the library in order to consult the *editio princeps* of G (for which see below, n. 68). 'Alle die Stellen, die ich [scil., Diels] aus inneren Gründen der recensio als interpoliert angesehen hatte, fehlten dort. Sie fehlten auch in den folgenden Galenausgaben bis auf Chartier (1679), der auf alle Weise seine Ausgabe zu vervollständigen suchte und deshalb oft, wie man jetzt weiß, zu harmlosen Fälschungen gegriffen hatte. Harmlos und *bona fide* gemacht waren sie insofern, als er in seiner lateinischen Übersetzung die Zusätze durch Kursivdruck von dem echten Bestand unterschieden hatte'.

⁴⁰ See DG 239. Beck (1787) xxx n. ** was already aware of the fact that it has to be used with care: 'Versio Latina, quae in ed. Galeni Charter. adiecta est, monstrabat interdum alias, quam Graeca, lectiones'; cf. also Ackermann (1821) cliv ('minus feliciter'). On the humanistic physicians as philologists and scholars see Nutton (1987) *passim* and Nutton (1988).

with the far richer collections of lemmata preserved by S, he somewhat awkwardly argued, shows that G depends on P, because they both provide the same selections from this richer material.

The theme of the competition had of course been formulated by his *Doktorvater*. One admires Usener's insight that he had found the right pupil and above all his generosity in handing over his material.⁴¹ Yet Usener apparently did not immediately give up the idea that he was to do some work himself, that is to say the editorial part rather than the reconstruction of the tradition. One should not forget, moreover, that he had rejected the first version of Diels' dissertation and allowed him two weeks to compose a more satisfactory one.⁴² We may therefore quote Nietzsche's letter to Rohde, written from Basle and dated June 16 1869:⁴³

Vielleicht beschreibst Du mir auch einmal den dortigen⁴⁴ Laertiuscod. saec. XII: eine Collation bekomme ich von Wachsmuth falls ich nämlich, wie wahrscheinlich ist, doch noch der futurus editor Laertii bin. Usener nämlich und ich beabsichtigen ein philosophisch-historisches corpus, an dem ich mit Laertius, er mit Stobaeus, Pseudoplutarch usw. participire. Dies sub sigillo.

Accordingly, Diels was not the only brilliant young person Usener strove to involve in his project, and Diels' account in his

⁴¹ In a similar way, Ritschl had formulated the theme of the competition for 1848, pertaining to the textual tradition of Lucretius, to stimulate the researches of young Bernays (cf. also above, n. 24). Bernays had written a paper on lost lines of Lucretius for Welcker's seminar, which Ritschl liked very much. He enabled Bernays to study the *Oblongus* and *Quadratus* lent by the university library of Leiden (Jacob Geel (1789-1862), on whom see Sandys (1903-8) 3.280, was a friend of Ritschl; see Usener (1902) 395 and Bernays (1847) 533 n. 1: 'Iam mihi [...] nil magis cordi est, quam publice gratias agere debitas EI VIRO, cuius rara benignitas et praeclara liberalitas inter philologos iamiam tralatitia est, IACOBO GEELIO. Ille enim concessio Leidensium copiarum usu liberrimo ipsum suppeditavit, quo haec tota nititur disputatio, fundamentum'). Bernays won the prize August 3rd 1846, and Ritschl published his paper in the *Rheinisches Museum* for 1847. See Bach (1974) 53f., and for the seminal importance of this study of Bernays for the text of Lucretius see Usener (1902) 395 (for some reason or other however he did not reprint it in the *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*), and Timpanaro (1982) 64ff., 69ff., with the corrections of Gucker (1996). For Ritschl's entirely similar promotion of Nietzsche, who with the essay that was to become Nietzsche (1868-9) won the prize of the contest on October 31 1867, see the evidence collected at Barnes (1986) 18ff.

⁴² Kern (1927) 41.

⁴³ Colli and Montinari (1986) 3.18.

⁴⁴ In Naples, viz. the famous *Burbonicus*, on which see Knoepfler (1991) 131ff. and *passim*.

autobiography probably is a somewhat romanticized version of what happened. Not only the *Doxographi graeci* of 1879 but also Wachsmuth's edition of Stobaeus' *Eclogae* published in 1884 are dedicated to Usener. As an organizer of scholarly research Usener set the example for his two most brilliant pupils, Diels and Wilamowitz. Zeller in his unpublished *Gutachten* of 1877 (for which see below) explicitly points out that the anonymous manuscript with a Ciceronian motto which he recommended for the prize went beyond the *Preisfrage* of the Prussian Academy because it provided not only the answer to the question concerned with the sources but included an edition of the extant texts, among which a reconstruction of the source shared by P, S, and T. Yet already in a letter to Theodor Gomperz (Februari 1871) Diels writes that he intends to spend as much time as he possibly can on 'die Herausgabe des Plutarch [*scil.*, ps.Plutarch] nebst den Stobäischen u[nd] Galenischen Excerpten'. He adds that Wachsmuth und Usener had planned to edit a corpus, of which Wachsmuth would do the Laërtius and Usener ps.Plutarch and the others, but that because of other obligations Usener had assigned his portion to Diels, and Wachsmuth the Laërtius edition to Nietzsche.⁴⁵ From the correspondence with Usener it is moreover clear that Diels told his former teacher at an early stage that he intended to collect all the historians of Greek philosophy except Diogenes Laërtius and Porphyry's *Vita Pythagorica* but including e.g. Sotion and the smaller fragments of Porphyry's *Historia philosopha* (letter of April 22 1872) and one year later informed him (letter of July 10 1872) how he intended to edit Aëtius.⁴⁶

As has been noticed in the introductory paragraph, a major aspect of the solution formulated in Diels' *DG* is that the common

⁴⁵ Braun & al. (1995a) 2f.: 'W[achsmuth] nemlich u[nd] Usener hatten im Anfang der 60er Jahre den Plan gefaßt zusammen ein Corpus herauszugeben, an dem W[achsmuth] den Laertius, Usener Plutarch u[nd] die andern bearbeiten sollte. Wie Sie wohl wissen, haben sich die Studien dieser Männer seit geraumer Zeit andern Gebieten zugewandt, und so hat Prof. Usener mir seinen Antheil abgetreten u[nd] Hr. Prof. Wachsmuth (wie ich höre) den Laertius an Prof. F. Nietzsche [*sic!*], der sich ja durch seine geistreichen Quellenstudien über diesen Autor als vorzüglich geeignet zu dieser Aufgabe gezeigt hat'. We may note in passing that Diels' judgement of Nietzsche here is *toto caelo* different from that at *DG* 161ff.

⁴⁶ Ehlers (1992) 1.57; the plan to include the 'vitae Historiker' was later postponed (and then abandoned), see *ibid.* 1.107, letter to be dated to the later months of 1876. For the format of Aëtius see below, n. 60 and text thereto.

source of P and S is to be *distinguished* from the work available in the time of Cicero.⁴⁷ The common source of P and S he called Aëtius, the latter *Vetusta placita*, arguing that Aëtius based himself on this earlier work and adding that Aëtius was not only excerpted by P and S, but also by T, and that (a version of) P—as already argued in the dissertation of 1870—in its turn was excerpted by G.

Diels in fact was the first scholar ever to notice that T too must have used the source excerpted by P and S. But in the dissertation of 1870 the distinction between the common source of P + S on the one hand and the *Vetusta placita* on the other is not yet to be found. Here Diels still speaks of an ‘original work, which I believe was produced in the last century before Christ’ and says that it is an established fact that this work was excerpted by P and S (‘from the original work from which it is agreed that Stobaeus and Plutarch drew’).⁴⁸ This simply reproduces the point of view of the *Preis-aufgabe* (and of Krische). That he stuck to this view for some time is also clear from a remark in a review of papers on the *Florilegia* by Wachsmuth published in 1872.⁴⁹ We may however note that in 1870 he had already rejected the hypothesis of Meineke and Volkmann⁵⁰ that the common source of P, (G) and S is to be identified as AD.

⁴⁷ In 1871 Volkmann too had written, though very briefly, about an earlier collection of *Placita* from which in his view the source of P is an abstract; see below, text to n. 196. However, there is a major difference between having an occasional insight and substantiating a point of view by assembling the relevant material.

⁴⁸ Diels (1870) 12: ‘pristinum opus, quod novissimo ante Christum saeculo conditum esse credo; [...] ex pristino [...] opere [...], unde Stobaeum et Plutarchum (hausisse) constat’.

⁴⁹ Diels (1872) 192: ‘bekanntlich ist das erste buch des Stobaios zum groszen teile aus der auch dem pseudo-Plutarch zu grunde liegenden groszen sammlung περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις excerptiert, die im altertum eine weit reichende verbreitung gefunden hatte’. He adds a footnote, *ibid.*, n. 2: ‘die von RVolkmann jüngst in diesen jahrb. 1871 s. 683ff. durchgeführte ansicht von einer späteren, gelehrten recension dieses werkes [i.e., an amplified P], welche Stobaios vorgelegen habe, entbehrt hinreichender begründung’.

⁵⁰ For which see below, §8; criticism at Diels (1870) 3: ‘vehementer ille [*scil.*, Meineke] falsus est’, and 12, ‘Volckmanni [...] hariolationes [...], qui vir doctissimus Meinekium temere secutus ex Pseudo-Galenii miserrimis praefatiunculis [...] ampli illius Didymi ut illi placet operis consilium atque institutum extricasse sibi visus est [...]’. His arguments against Volkmann are that G used not the richer source but P for the physical section (13ff.) and excerpted Sextus Empiricus for the logical section (10ff.; for this last point see however below, n. 196).

What Diels' final analysis, for all its learning, resembles most is a successful military operation.⁵¹ The *DG* are the published and revised version of the manuscript (not preserved in the archives)⁵² he in 1877 submitted to the Berlin Academy for the *Preisfrage* for this year which was advertised in 1874. In the preface to the *DG*⁵³ he refers to this *Preisfrage*, but only quotes (in Latin) the final paragraph, so that it is worth our while to reprint the whole text:⁵⁴

Da von den zahlreichen Schriften der griechischen Philosophen nur der kleinere Theil auf uns gekommen ist, und da namentlich aus der vorsokratischen Zeit und den drei letzten Jahrhunderten v. Chr. von der philosophischen Literatur der Griechen sich nur Bruchstücke erhalten haben, die im Verhältniss zu dem Umfang dieser Literatur dürftig zu nennen sind, bilden die Schriften der römischen und byzantinischen Zeit eine der hauptsächlichsten, und in Betreff der nacharistotelischen Schulen fast die einzige Quelle für unsere Kenntniss der griechischen Philosophie. Unter denselben befindet sich eine bei der Lückenhaftigkeit der sonstigen Überlieferungen für uns sehr wichtige Gruppe von Schriften, welche sich durch ihre weitgehende Verwandtschaft nur als verschiedene Bearbeitungen oder Ableger eines und desselben älteren Werks darstellen: die Plutarchos zugeschriebenen fünf Bücher über die Lehrmeinungen der Philosophen, die Eklogen des Stobaios und die Galenos beigelegte Geschichte der Philosophie. Es wäre von grossem Werth, über den Ursprung dieser Schriften, über ihre Verhältnisse zu einander, zu den uns durch Eusebios bekannten Στρωματεῖς des Plutarchos, und zu den verschiedenen andern Schriftstellern (wie Sextos der Empiriker, Hippolytos, Clemens von Alexandria, Theodoretos, Kyrillos,

⁵¹ See further below, Ch. 2, §2.

⁵² Letter of Dr Christa Kirsten, director of the Zentrales Akademie-Archiv of the Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, October 28 1987. The contents and lay-out are fully described in Diels' letter to Usener of March 22 1877, Ehlers (1992) 1.122ff. (cf. also his letter of July 22 1877, Ehlers (1992) 137f.) The first volume contained the 'Prolegomena', the second Aëtius, the third the other texts (among which Theophrastus *De sensibus* had not yet been included). The description of the Aëtius-volume is interesting: 'Bd. II Aëtius in 6 Abtheilungen auf jeder Seite' (details follow), because the synoptical lay-out is identical with that in the published work and different from that planned in an earlier stage, see below, text to n. 60. We now also know that the 'Prolegomena' were written after the first version of the reconstruction of Aëtius had been completed, see letter to Usener of May 1874 at Ehlers (1992) 1.102.

⁵³ *DG* v.

⁵⁴ Preisfragen der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften für das Jahr 1877. Bekanntgemacht in der öffentlichen Sitzung am Leibnizischen Jahrestage, den 2. Juli 1874, p. II.

Epiphanios, Nemesios) wahrscheinlich gebrauchten ähnlichen Zusammenstellungen, sowie über die von ihren Verfassern benützten Quellen und die Art ihrer Benützung genaueres zu ermitteln. Zu einer solchen, zunächst von der ältesten der drei genannten Schriften ausgehenden, Arbeit wünscht die Akademie den Anstoss zu geben, indem sie die Preisaufgabe stellt:⁵⁵

Der Ursprung und die Abfassungszeit der uns unter Plutarchos' Namen überlieferte Schrift περί τῶν ἀρεσκόντων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, ihr Verhältniss zu den uns bekannten verwandten Darstellungen, die für sie benützten Quellen und die Art ihrer Benützung sollen untersucht werden.

In this *Preisfrage* the ultimate common source for P and S (and G) is again postulated, but the assumption found in the Bonn *Preisaufgabe* of 1868 that this source was already available in the time of Cicero has been abandoned. It is replaced by the more general recommendation to inquire into the sources of P and the related literature. We may believe that the Berlin *Preisfrage* was formulated in order to support the research of Diels.⁵⁶ Zeller's review of the dissertation, published in 1871, had been very laudatory, and he had expressed his desire to see Diels' researches continued:⁵⁷

... seine hauptergebnisse hat der v[er]f[asser] so sorgfältig und sicher begründet, dass wir ihm zu dieser erstlingsarbeit nur glück wünschen können, und der weiteren untersuchung über den falschen Plutarch und Stobäus, welche er der gelehrten welt ja doch wohl gleichfalls vorlegen wird, mit verlangen entgegnen sehen.

Because of the publication of the correspondence between Diels and Usener and between Diels and Zeller by Ehlers (1992) we are now capable of following the slow gestation of the *opus magnum*,

⁵⁵ What follows was quoted in Latin by Diels *DG* v. Kern (1927) 54 quotes this version instead of Zeller's German original.

⁵⁶ See in Diels' letter to Usener of November 14 1874 at Ehlers (1992) 1.104 (a fragment already published by Kern (1927) 53): 'Wunderbarer Weise haben Sie in Ihrem Briefe eine Thatsache nicht angeführt, die für die rasche Vollend[ung] meines Werkes von durchschlagender Wichtigkeit ist und die Sie doch wissen müssen. Die Akademie in Berlin hat am 2. Juli 1874 meine Arbeit als philos[ophische] Preisaufgabe gestellt. Ich kann nicht anders denken, als daß Zeller mich hat dadurch aufmuntern wollen und zugleich dadurch, daß er einen sichern Mann hat, dem Fiasko der I Aufgabe über die Peripatetiker hat vorbeugen wollen. Leider ist aber die Aufgabe erst 1877 fällig.' Zeller's *Gutachten* (see also below, Ch. 2, § 1), dated 17 March 1877, has been preserved; we hope to publish it in full elsewhere.

⁵⁷ Zeller (1871) 165.

involving a number of changes of mind and plan, in some detail.⁵⁸ According to an interesting scheme set out in a letter to Usener of July 10 1872, Diels at one time thought of reconstructing a unified text of A, an idea he did not carry out in the *DG*. We quote this 'Schema', in which the reconstructed text of A is on the left pages, with sources other than P and S listed as testimonia, and the texts of P and S (in two columns, as subsequently in the *DG*) on the right pages, G being printed on the bottom of such a page. To borrow the terminology used in two important varieties of presentation of the Gospels, he planned to present an Aëtius *harmony* on the left-hand and an Aëtius *synopsis* (consisting of P and S in parallel columns, with G underneath) on the right-hand pages.⁵⁹ We quote his 'Schema' from the letter:⁶⁰

Aëtius	Plutarch	Stobaeus
Text		
Testimonia	Krit. Appar.	Krit. Appar.
Abweichg. Plut. u. Stobaeus	Galenī hist. phil.	

In May 1874 Diels writes to Usener that the texts of P, S and G are ready and that he is studying the old translations, esp. that of 'Nicolaus Rhegius'. The following years he continued working on the texts and carried out the investigations which were to result

⁵⁸ Only one letter to Wilamowitz from the period when Diels worked at the *DG* is extant, dated August 5 1876, from which we quote Braun & *al.* (1995b) 43: 'ego vero hic inter piperatos homines aut obesos solus ac mutus sedeo totus in Placitis involutus ac sepultus. absolvi Galenum, Hippolytum, Theophrastum. sudo inpraesentiarum in Cicerone ac Philodemo, cui heri novum fragm. Heracliteum vel potius noti iteratam memoriam extorsi. aliud nuper Tzetzes Hermannianus mihi suppeditavit. iam propero ad Plutarchum absolvendum, cuius codicem Venetianum mihi huc transmissum cum otio excutio. codicem Parisinum ab illo transcriptum ante hos paucos dies remisit. optimus et antiquissimus codex custoditur a Mosquensibus, quos frustra rogavi. equid tibi cum Rossicis philologis familiaritas?'

⁵⁹ In a Gospel harmony the Gospels have been coalesced into a single text; a Gospel synopsis puts the texts of the Gospels in parallel columns and juxtaposes those passages which are practically the same or sufficiently similar. See further below, Ch. 2, §4.

⁶⁰ Ehlers (1992) 1.70. Usener replies August 3 1872, at Ehlers (1992) 1.71: 'Über die Anlage Ihrer Arbeit möchte ich Ihnen Gegenvorstellungen machen, aus praktischen Gründen.' But he will not do so now in the letter, and hopes to see Diels soon. We do not know what alternative scheme Usener had in mind. Perhaps Diels abandoned his original scheme because it cannot be done for the whole of A, since large sections of S are lost (see below, Ch. 4, p. 202f.). Diels' right-hand page may have been inspired by Schoene (1866), see below, Ch. 2, n. 88.

in the 'Prolegomena'. But he is quite secretive about his activities; he only informs Usener of his final results in the letter of March 22 1877 in which he tells him that he has sent his three volumes of manuscript to Berlin, and only then gives a rather full description of their contents.⁶¹ Though in his defense it may be pointed out that copies of one's work of necessity had to be written by hand (something we tend to forget in our xeroxing age), he surely could have communicated such a summary before. It is clear that he wanted to be independent. What he writes to Usener is that he now wishes to date A, 'so nenne ich das Urwerk der Placita', to the first cent. CE. 'Die Ähnlichkeiten mit Cicero, Varro und Aenesidem [...] sind aus gemeinsamen Quellenschriften zu erklären'.⁶² We must note the plural: 'Quellenschriften'; in the summary in the letter, Diels goes into some detail about these presumed sources. This is by no means yet the *Vetusta placita* hypothesis. Usener was in disagreement:⁶³

Ihre Aetios-Hypothese findet vorläufig in mir einen ungläubigen Thomas. Auch in ihrer neuen Gestalt macht sie kaum einen anderen Eindruck auf mich als in ihrer ursprünglichen. Die Frage ist, wenn Sie Recht behalten sollten, einfach nicht gelöst, und es wird dann das vor-Varronische Werk zu ermitteln bleiben, das auf den Schultern Theophrasts eine umfassendere Revue über die Lehrmeinungen des physiol[ogischen] Gebiets hielt.

Usener was of course right in that the issue originally formulated in the Bonn competition of 1869 had not yet been entirely solved, because the source of Cicero etc. had still to be determined. So in fact it is, most surprisingly, Usener who postulates that *if* A is *the* source of P etc. and has to be dated to the first cent. CE, another *single* source has to be assumed between Theophrastus and the age of Varro. It is this single source which Diels in the published version of the *DG* was to call *Vetusta placita*. On 22 July 1877 he writes to Usener about the revision of his work and says that this will 'näher auf die voraetianische Quelle eingehen'. We must observe the singular: 'die ... Quelle'. Perhaps the fact that this single source was Usener's idea rather than his own explains to some extent why Diels' treatment of the *VP* in the *DG* as published remains puzzling and unsatisfactory. The *Vetusta Placita* hypo-

⁶¹ See above, n. 52.

⁶² Ehlers (1992) 1.123.

⁶³ Reply of 27 March 1877, Ehlers (1992) 1.126.

thesis is, in fact, what is left of the hypothesis underlying the *Preisaufrage* of 1869 when Diels' novel Aëtius has been subtracted.

3. Budé, Rota and Gessner

The first to translate ps.Plutarch into Latin was the great philologist Guillaume Budé.⁶⁴ In his preface—dated Paris Jan. 1502—Budé, who had only one ms. at his disposal, says he often had to emend the text. Note that this translation is a few years earlier than the *editio princeps* of the Greek text of P, viz. the Aldina of 1509. Diels⁶⁵ points out that Budé's translation has been interpolated from G, the *editio princeps* of which had just been published,⁶⁶ and he argues that the suppletions and emendations derived from G to be found in the margin of the 14th cent. Vossianus of P were written by Budé. However this may be, it is clear that both the author of these additions in the margin of the ms. and Budé in his translation noticed the affinity between P and G, and that Budé used G to produce a better (Latin) P.

We have seen above that Diels' discovery that the translation of G by Rota had been generously interpolated constituted the first important step towards his reconstruction of the doxographical tradition. We may well ask why Rota acted as he did.⁶⁷ The answer

⁶⁴ First published Paris 1505; we cite the preface as reprinted in the *Opera omnia* (Basle 1557) 509f. The Latin version of the title of ps.Plutarch seems to have influenced Scipio Aquilianus, *De Placitis Philosophorum qui ante Aristotelis tempora floruerunt* (Venice 1620; repr. with notes by G. Moralis, Ph. J. Crophius and C. F. Brucker, Leipzig 1756); this treatise is of little interest to us here, because it does not deal with the problem of the sources.

⁶⁵ *DG* 38f. (cf. the stemma, *ibid.* 40).

⁶⁶ See below, n. 68.

⁶⁷ Rota, whose exact dates we have been unable to establish—there is no entry in any of the biographical or other lexica we have consulted, and the great Italian biographical lexicon has not yet arrived at the letter R—was an industrious scholar. He translated at least nine other works by Galen into Latin; see Durling (1961) 298 *s.v.* Rota. His other main interest seems to have been in the field of philosophy. He edited Boethius' logical works: *Anitii Manlii Boethi ... Dialectica ... a Martiano Rota restituta ac libris, titulis, ordineque decorata. Adjecta est etiam auctoris vita quam ex eius libris et quibusdam aliis idem Martianus Rota magna sollertia collegit* (Venice, Giunta 1543). He collaborated in the edition of Boethius *Opera quae extant omnia* (Basle 1546; we have seen 1570²), contributing comments on Boethius' commentaries on logical works by Aristotle, and an 'epistula nuncupatoria' addressed to the bishop-designate of Treviso. This letter contains a sort of *biographie raisonnée* of Boethius and shows that Rota knew much about the history of Greek philosophy in an antiquarian way. The *Dialectica* was reprinted 'post Martiani

is that his motive in rewriting G was exactly the same as Budé's in rewriting P, viz. the providing of something more complete and more useful. What should be pointed out as well is that Budé, Rota and, as we shall see, Canter and Chartier, in a way went on where their predecessors in antiquity (as well as Niccolò da Reggio, see below) had left off. In antiquity, the doxographies, like other handbooks or like treatises written for practical purposes, not only lost material during a process of transmission which often enough included a revision or reworking of the text, but also acquired new material. Addition, subtraction and rearrangement should be taken as a fact of the life of texts of this kind and viewed as impartially as possible. The difference is that Budé and those who came after him in principle kept within the limits of a single genre, or at least of a group of similar treatises (e.g. P and G) or, as to genre, recognizeably similar material. Unlike their ancient predecessors, Budé, Rota and the others did not, for instance, excerpt originals in order to create new doxographic lemmata. They were editors of ancient texts, not workers in the field of doxography.

obitum' (Venice 1585), which gives us a *t.a.q.* for his death. The earliest publication of Rota we have found is his preface to Torrigiani's *Plusquam-commentum in parvam Galeni artem* (Venice, Giunta 1526). Here he presents himself as 'artium et medicinae doctor'. He therefore can hardly have been born much before 1500. According to Palmer (1983), Rota was from 6 juni 1536 (p. 98) to 16 Februari 1554 (p. 142) one of the *promotores electi* in the Faculty of Medicine in Venice. He also published works by Aristotle or ascribed to Aristotle, freely printing translations and commentaries by others but also adding things of his own: (1) *Politicorum sive de Republica libri VIII, Leonardo Aretio interprete, cum D. Thomae Aquinatis explanatione. His accessere ipsius D. Thomae De regimine principum libri IV; Oeconomica etiam ex antiqua translatione et duobus manuscriptis codicibus desumpta, J. Martiani Rotae labore ac diligentia* (Venice 1558, 1568). (2) *Aristotelis opera cum Averrois commentariis*, vol. 7, contains *De lineis insecabilibus Liber, nunquam antea nec graece nec latine impressus, una cum Georgii Pachymerii ea de re compendio, hactenus falso Aristotele ascripto, fidelissime in latinum converso, Iulio Martiano Rota medico interprete* (Venice, Giunta 1572). He also published *Philoponi ... Expositio ... in libros analyticos Aristotelis posteriores* (Venice, Giunta 1560), and Petrus Hispanus, *Summulae logicales* and *Parvae logicales*, 'quae omnia a Martiano Rota infinitis fere erroribus maxima sunt diligentia castigata' according to the 16th cent. equivalent of the modern blurb (Venice, Giunta 1560). He also published (without date) *Additiones in Aristotelis Praedicamenta*, see Risse (1979) 343 nr. 2684. In these editions and contributions he bestowed some care on what he believed to be genuine problems of both lower and higher criticism concerned with the *constitutio* and *interpretatio* of the original works at issue, in order to provide the reader with aids to understand the text. But such aids more often than not were not original contributions by Rota himself.

Rota (to come back to him) was dissatisfied with the corrupt and often lacunose text of the earlier editions of the text in Greek⁶⁸ of G which had been based on the Laurentianus ms.⁶⁹ He was also dissatisfied with the incomplete⁷⁰ Latin translation of Niccolò da Reggio printed—as far as we have been able to establish—in two early editions of Galen in Latin,⁷¹ viz. that edited by Rusticus Placentinus (Pavia 1515-6) and that edited in part by himself (Venice 1528).⁷² He composed a more elegant version, basing himself largely on Niccolò's translation, but also using the early printed editions of the Greek text. He also had frequent recourse to conjecture and his own stock of knowledge, and modified the sequence of the chapters.

Rota's translation, or rather rewriting in Latin, of G was first published in the first Giuntine edition⁷³ of 1541-2 of Galen's works in Latin (ed. J. B. Montanus, Venice; pirated in the first Froben edition, Basle 1542). It was reprinted in all subsequent Giuntine editions [also in that of 1625, not listed by Durling], in the Froben editions (Basle 1542, 1549, 1561-2, the last of which was edited by Conrad Gessner), in that of Gessner (Lyons 1551), and in the

⁶⁸ *Editio princeps* in vol. 2 of the Aldina of Aristotle (Venice 1497). New ed. in the famous and influential Aldina of Galen (Venice 1528), see Mani (1956), to be supplemented by Nutton (1987) 38ff., with references to further literature. Also printed in the Basle ed. of 1538, for which see Nutton (1987) 43ff.; cf. also *DG* 238f.

⁶⁹ Cf. *DG* 234.

⁷⁰ The translation omits several chapters and compresses others.

⁷¹ Diels (1870) 24 n. 1 could not find this translation. Wachsmuth (1871b) 702ff. identified and discussed it, and proved that it is an independent and important witness for the text. In the *DG* the very literal translation of Niccolò, which dates to 1341 and is based on a ms. now lost which is assumed to descend from the same archetype as the surviving Greek mss., is adduced for the *constitutio* of the text of G. A list of the early editions of Galen's *opera omnia* in Latin is at Durling (1961) 279f. On Niccolò Ruperti di Deoprepio from Reggio Calabria and his translations see Thorndike (1946). The 'liber Galeni de historia philosophorum sive de dogmatibus translatus a magistro Nicolao de Regio de Calabria anno domini 1341 de mense aprilis in die nona' is nr. 24 of the translations listed there. See also Weiss (1950), Nutton (1987) 20f.

⁷² That Rota is the editor of vols. III and IV of this Giunta edition is not indicated by Durling but was already pointed out by Ackermann in Kühn (1821-33) I.ccxvii, quoted by Wachsmuth (1871b) 702. These volumes were inspected for us in the Vatican Library by Dr L. Spruit. For Rusticus' dependence on the earlier, very rare Galen edited by Hieronymus Surianus of Rimini (Venice 1502; *non vidimus*) see Nutton (1987) 21f.

⁷³ Durling's Giunta 1.

above-mentioned edition of Chartier (Paris 1679; with additions), from which it was reprinted in that of Kühn (1830). In all these editions, the text and translation of the *Historia philosopha* are part of the 'classis spuria'.

But there is more to be said. Rota—as already indicated above—also interpolated substantial sections from P into his translation of G.⁷⁴ It is clear that he had noticed the strong family resemblance between the two works and made good use thereof without concerning himself about the problem of the relation between these texts. Using the one to supplement the other in order to provide a more comprehensible and more complete treatise (which however still was for the most part based on G), he in effect attempted to do what others later attempted in a quite different manner, viz. to reconstruct a common work which had been used by both G and P. Chartier, in the next century, acted in much the same way.⁷⁵ For this reason Rota, on a par with Budé, may be considered to be an important forerunner of Diels, however different his method and his actual results may have been from those of a nineteenth century scholar trained in *Quellenforschung* and *Quellenanalyse*.

It should however be pointed out that Rota's translation was criticized by the Spanish *Leibarzt* of the Emperor Charles V, Andreas Lacuna (1499-1560), in his preface to his translation of G.⁷⁶ This comment is quoted and apparently endorsed by the

⁷⁴ See Diels (1870) 6f. We do not know whether Rota was aware that Budé (above, text after n. 66) had acted in the same way.

⁷⁵ Cf. above, n. 39. However, Chartier not only reprinted Rota's interpolated translation but in some cases also modified the Greek text in order to have it conform to this translation; he moreover added further material from ps.Plutarch, and went one step further than his predecessor by interpolating a single clause from Stobaeus as well—see Diels (1870) 8—, viz. Aët. at S 1 12.1^a αἰτία ... ὑποστάσεως (which, from the vantage-point of hindsight, is an important move). Chartier used a similar method in establishing the Greek text of ps.Galen's *Definitiones medicae*, viz. by interpolating passages and formulas from ps.Plutarch's *Placita* and other sources. In this case too the wish to provide a useful book seems to have been predominant; see Kollesch (1967), and for parallel treatments of other non-literary texts Kenney (1974) 18 with n. 2. For Chartier cf. further below, text to n. 90.

⁷⁶ *De philosophica historia*, published Cologne 1543, i.e. only two years after the first publication of Rota's translation; we have seen this book. Diels (1870) 24f. and *DG* 236f. and 239 quotes from the preface. Lacuna recounts that in 1539 when visiting Gent with the Emperor he bought an old manuscript from a Greek who said it had been written by Galen himself. Diels points out that this manuscript cannot have contained anything of real importance,

great humanist physician and scholar Conrad Gessner (1516-1565):⁷⁷

De historia philosophica liber, a Iulio Martiano Rota tr. Eadem seorsim excusa est Coloniae anno 1543 in 8. Andrea Lacuna interprete, qui in praefatione scribit, extare etiamnum veteris cuiusdam interpretis translationem huius libri,⁷⁸ sed barbaram et infelicem: quam Martianus Rota secutus sit, ita ut longe elegantiores reddiderit, adiutum [*sic*; read adiutus] Graecis codicibus impressis, Aldino⁷⁹ & Basiliensi [1538]: quae ita mutila & depravata sint, ut aliquando divinare coactus Martianus, de suo plurima interseruerit, philosophica quidem illa et optima, sed praeter fidi interpretis officium,⁸⁰ se [*scil.*, Lacuna] verum nactum esse exemplar antiquissimum manu scriptum, multo emaculatus impressis, novam interpretationem instituisse huius libri, * cuius lectio (inquit) non minus poetis & oratoribus, quam medicis et philosophis, utilis ac necessaria fuerit. Sic ille.

Gessner adds an important comment. He sees what Rota and Budé had also seen, that is to say that G is very much similar to P, and recommends that both works should be edited in one volume and that each should be corrected by means of the other:

¶ author huius libri [*scil.*, G] quisquis est, veterum philosophorum circiter nonaginta, quos ordine ab initio Lacuna enumerat, opiniones recitat, per capita viginti octo supra centum: quae pleraque (paucis ab initio exceptis) Physici argumenti sunt: sicuti etiam Plutarchi de placitis philosophorum libri quinque, (quos Guil. Budaeus Latinos fecit)⁸¹ in quibus plurima eadem, eodemque ordine et iisdem verbis (et utriusque voluminis parum differens moles est) ita ut et literatus aliquis iis conferendis, inque novum volumen redigendis, utilem proculdubio operam rei Physicae studiosis navaret: & simul librum utrumque ex altero emendaret.⁸²

because Lacuna's translation seems almost everywhere to be based on the poor editions of the Greek text that were available to him.

⁷⁷ We quote from the important introduction to the 3rd Froben ed. of Galen by Gessner (Basle 1561-62), the section dealing with the 'Galeno adscripti libri spurii'.

⁷⁸ *Scil.*, by Niccolò da Reggio.

⁷⁹ See above, n. 68.

⁸⁰ Diels *DG* 239 quotes Lacuna's own words: 'Rota [...] secutus est translationem veterem, eamque longe elegantiores reddidit, adiutus interim Graecis codicibus, excusis quidem illis, sed mendacissime. quare coactus interdum fuit divinare: interdum, obtruncata exemplaria, ex suis hortulis (quamquam philosophica et optima) plurima haud dubie interserere, quae nusquam apud Galenum extant: id quod minime fidem decet interpretem'.

⁸¹ See above, n. 64 and text thereto.

⁸² Stobaeus' *Eclogae* had not yet been published. Gessner knew that a copy existed in an Italian library and also (the more to his credit) referred to its

Sunt sane hi libri Physicorum dogmatum plerorumque omnium Epitome.

We may note that Lacuna and Gessner believed that G (and P) are important as a source for the views of the Greek philosophers.

4. *Mercuriale and Patrizi*

We now turn to the partial precedent in the 16th century for Diels' introduction of the name Aëtius.

In the *bibliographie raisonnée* of Galen by J. G. C. Ackermann to be found in Kühn's edition⁸³ the *Historia philosopha*, which belongs to the class of spurious works, is said to have been attributed to Aëtius by Rota. For this information Ackermann refers to Fabricius'⁸⁴ monumental *Bibliotheca Graeca*. In Fabricius' list of works by Galen the spurious work at issue is No. 152⁸⁵ where he mentions three editions. The reference to 'T. 4 Basil. pag. 424' pertains to the edition of the *opera omnia* in Greek ed. by J. Camerarius (Basle 1538) and so boils down to one to the Greek text of G. For Rota's Latin translation Fabricius refers to 'Giunta' and to Char-tier's edited reprinting. His remark 'vertit ... Rota, hunc librum tribuens Aetio' proves that his information about Rota's ascription is based on one of the Giuntine editions in which Rota's Latin translation is prefaced by a short critical note, sandwiched between the title and the beginning of the translation itself.

table of contents preserved by Photius, see his *Bibliotheca universalis sive Catalogus omnium scriptorum locupletissimus* vol. 1 (Zürich 1545) 455: 'Ioan. Stobaei physica Graeca nondum evulgata, extant in Italia, ut audio, apud Rodolphum Vincentiae Cardinalem hoc tempore. Facit autem mentionem eorum & capita summatis recenset Photius patriarcha'. The *editio princeps* of the *Florilegium* had been published by Trincavelli (Venice 1536); the much better second ed. was published by Gessner himself (Basle 1543), see the remarks of Wilamowitz (1927) 21 (Engl. transl. 149f.). On Gessner see Bursian (1883) 216ff.

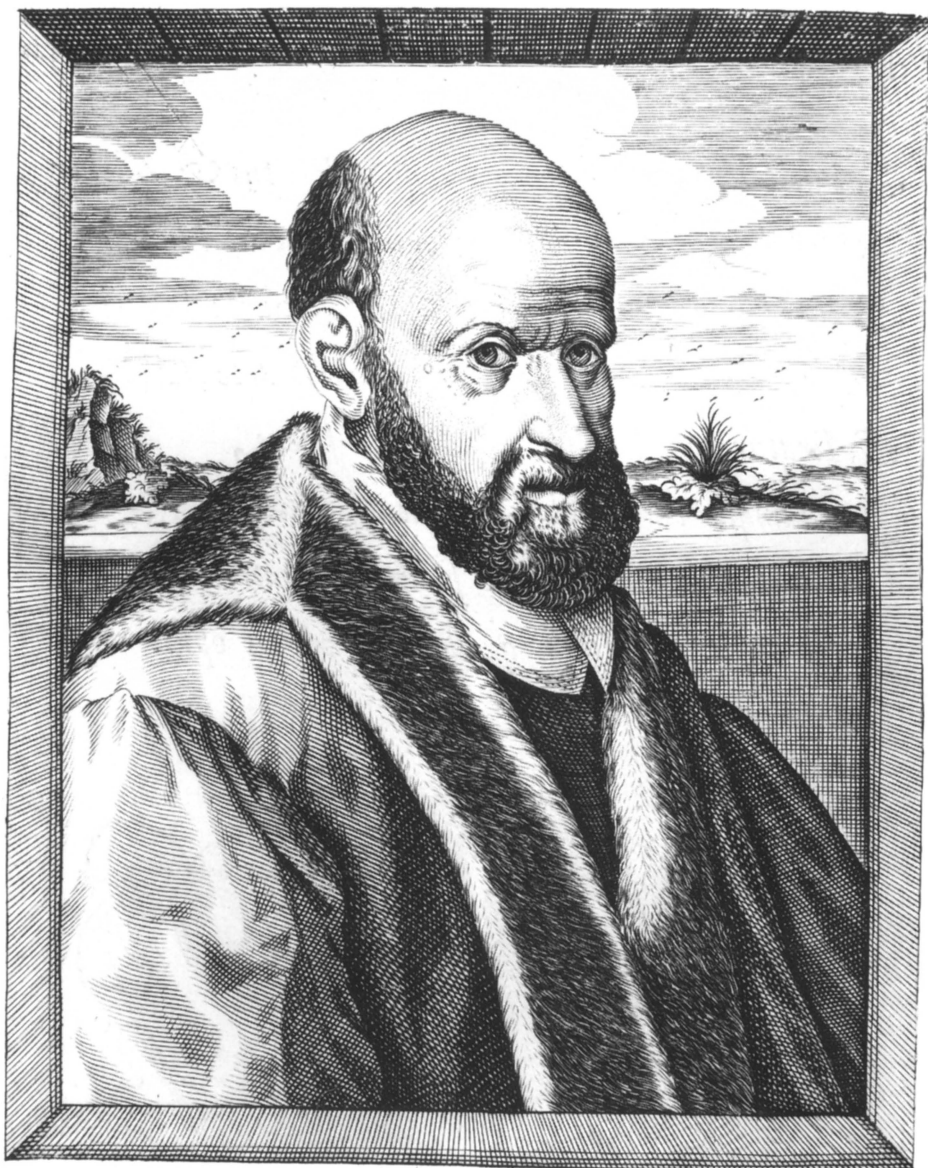
⁸³ Ackerman (1821) clviii.

⁸⁴ Johann Albrecht Fabricius (1668-1736); on him see Bursian (1883) 360ff., Sandys (1903-8) 3.2f., Bottin & al. (1979) 338f. One may quote Wilamowitz (1927) 41 (Engl. transl. 93): 'Die Wissensmasse, die er [...] aufgestapelt hat, ist geradezu unheimlich. Dabei ist er ein zuverlässiger Berater, der immer an die Bedürfnisse des Benutzers denkt. Alles ist knapp und klar und wohlgeordnet; er kennt die Bücher und Gelehrten aller Zeiten [...]'.

⁸⁵ Fabricius (1705-28) t. 5 (publ. 1708), lib. IV c. xvii, 554; cf. below, n. 93. See also the reference to this page in the treatment of Plutarch's works *ibid.* c. xi, 361f., where the *Placita* is Nr. 108 in the catalogue of Plutarch's *Moralia*; cf. below, n. 116.



1. Francesco Patrizi (1529–97)
 illustration from (1581) iv
 the first scholar to develop an Aëtian hypothesis
 see text Ch. 1, p. 31



HIERONIMVS. MERCVRIALIS,
N. de Larmessa. sculp.

2. Gerolamo Mercuriale (1531–1606)
 illustration from Bullart (1682) 2.112
 his note inspired Diels in formulating his hypothesis
 see text Ch. 1, p. 30

The inference that this note was written by Rota is therefore a natural one, but, as Dr. Teun Tieleman discovered, it is wrong. It was first printed in the Giuntine edition of 1576–7 (Durling's Giunta 5) edited by Gerolamo Mercuriale (Hieronymus Mercurialis, 1530–1606).⁸⁶ Mercuriale contributed a rather substantial critical foreword to his edition. This foreword was reprinted in the next Giuntine edition (Giunta 6) which was edited by H. Costaeus (1586). The note preceding Rota's translation was written by Mercuriale, as is clear from his foreword, pp. 6-7:

De historia Philosophica meam sententiam in hac editione ante illam⁸⁷ concessi ponendam. De aliis autem spurii nihil mihi dicendum duxi, quod ante singulos libros doctissimorum virorum censurae habeantur, quorum auctoritati fidem praestans vel legere, vel omittere pro libito unusquisque vestrum poterit, modo genuina scripta non postponentur, et quae in spurii leguntur, eatenus aestimentur, quatenus alibi vere a Galeno confirmata inveniuntur.

Mercuriale's 'sententia' as printed on the first page of Rota's translation runs as follows:

⁸⁶ Gerolamo Mercuriale, philologist and physician, was a more famous personage than Rota. He studied medicine at Bologna, became magister of philosophy and doctor of medicine at Padua, lived as a protégé of Cardinal Farnese for seven years in Rome and its libraries, was professor of medicine for one year in Vienna as a protégé of the Emperor Maximilian II, taught the same subject for eighteen years in Padua, for five years in Bologna, and for nine years in Pisa, all the time earning huge salaries, and wrote voluminously on medicine both ancient and modern. From a philological point of view the following among his numerous works are of major importance: (1) *Variorum lectionibus in medicinae scriptoribus et aliis libri IV* (Venice 1571), and (2) *Repugnantia quae pro Galeno strenue pugnantur* (Venice 1572). His most famous work is the *De arte gymnastica* (Venice 1569), dealing at length with the gymnastics of the ancients, in which he strongly advised against exercise on horse-back because the ancients had not practised this form. At his death he left 20,000 gold ducats to his heirs. See Boerner (1751), Capparoni (1928) 53ff., Simili (1941). The great Scaliger did not like him, see *Scaligerana sive excerpta ex ore Josephi Scaligeri*. Per F.F.P.P. [i.e., Fratres Puteanos: Jacques and Pierre Pithou, the owners of the ms. containing Scaliger's conversations with Jean and Nicolas de Vassan in the years 1603-1606; see Bernays (1855) 232ff.] (The Hague 1666; we have seen the 2nd. ed., 1668) 224: 'Mercurialis estoit une grande beste. Il vit encore aujourd'hui à Bologne, c'est un envieux. Les Italiens mesme entr'eux sont envieux & mesdisans, parce que Scaliger P(ère) reprend Galien: Mercurialis l'apelle calumniateur'.

⁸⁷ *Scil.*, before the translation itself and not in the foreword. The other 'censurae' he mentions are by no means all composed by the translator of the work in question. Mercuriale's judgement on another treatise was inserted in the edition in the same way as his view on the *Hist. philos.*, see the Preface, 5: 'De libello theriacae ad Pisonem inscripto quid sentiam, in huiusce editionis quinta classe legitur'.

Hunc librum Galeni esse cum satis non constet, videndum num fortasse sit Aetii. Theodoretus enim lib. 2. & 4. de curatione Graecarum affectionum scribit Plutarchum, & Aetium Collectanea de placitis Philosophorum edidisse; Porphyrium vero non modo philosophicam eiusce generis confecisse historiam, verum etiam opinionibus vitam ac mores philosophorum adiunxisse. Quare cum Plutarchi liber habeatur,⁸⁸ hic⁸⁹ autem Porphyrio (quem forte Laertius est imitatus) tribui non queat, fit, ut Aetio potius, quam ulli alteri adscribendus videatur. Nisi forte quis putet, eo quod hic et apud Plutarchum eadem saepe verba legantur, ex utroque fuisse congestum.

We have already seen that T mentions Aëtius three times (2.95, 4.31, and 5.16), each time together with [ps.]Plutarch and Porphyry. Mercuriale fails to give the reference to *GAC* book V, but it is virtually certain that he consulted the text of the two references he does provide. For at 2.95, where Porphyry is mentioned last, T says that Porphyry added the life of each individual to the tenets (62.6–7 Raeder, τὸν ἐκάστου βίον ταῖς δόξαις προστεθεικώς). This explains Mercuriale's remark concerning Diogenes Laërtius as possibly an imitator of Porphyry; at 4.31 and 5.16, T does not tell us in what way Porphyry differs from P and A.

It would seem that Chartier's critical note on the *Historia philosopha* is for the most part based on that of Mercuriale:⁹⁰

Librum hunc Galeni spurium esse constat, qui ex multis tum Philosophorum tum Medicorum praeceptis, ac decretis conflatus est. Theodoretus scribit Plutarchum & Aetium collectanea de placitis Philosophorum edidisse, Porphyrium vero non modo philosophicam historiam confecisse, verum etiam opinionibus vitam ac mores Philosophorum adiunxisse. Quare huiusce libri philosophici quidam Plutarchum, alij Aetium, nonnulli denique Porphyrium auctorem esse proferunt. Nos vero hunc Plutarcho potius quam alteri acceptum referendum esse ducimus. Contextus Graecus huius libri Basileae [1538] ac Venetiis [1497] editus multis lacunis ac mendis scatebat,⁹¹ ut ex Martiani Rotae sapientiss. interpretatione docta ac copiosiore colligitur, qui nunc a nobis emendatior ac locupletior huicq: consona datur interpretatio.

The sentence 'Theodoretus ... adiunxisse' has been quoted from Mercuriale, with a few minor changes. The various options listed by Mercuriale have been personified as 'alii ... , quidam ... ,

⁸⁸ 'because P has been preserved'.

⁸⁹ I.e. G.

⁹⁰ Chartier (1679) vol. 2 t. 2, 400f.

⁹¹ Cf. above, text after n. 79.

nonnulli ...'; however the 'alii' in Chartier's version in fact include Rota (and/or Mercuriale). In this way, Chartier became one of the links in the chain of transmission of the Aëtius hypothesis. But he differs from Mercuriale in attributing the *Historia philosopha* to Plutarch (i.e. to the author of the *Placita*) not Aëtius. We believe this is because, as we have already noticed, he was impressed by the translation of Rota which he reprints and which had been enriched with passages borrowed from P. Perhaps Chartier believed that both G and P derive from a work composed by the famous Plutarch of Chaeronea.

Mercuriale's note was reprinted by Wachsmuth in 1871 in his review of Diels' dissertation,⁹² and by Diels (from Wachsmuth) in the *DG* of 1879.⁹³ That Diels copied out Wachsmuth is certain because both Diels and Wachsmuth wrongly report Mercuriale's reference to T 'lib. 2. & 4' as 'Lib. II § 4'; moreover, Diels' 'docta' seems to render Wachsmuth's 'gelehrte'. Mercuriale himself, as we have noticed, omits to cite book V. It is odd that neither Diels in the *DG* nor Wachsmuth in the review of the dissertation refers to Ackermann's remarks in Kühn's edition of Galen or to Fabricius' remarks on which Ackermann's are based. Fabricius' mistaken attribution to Rota of the ascription of G to Aëtius had apparently been forgotten. But this is a matter of minor importance, because Diels knew the full text of Mercuriale's note from

⁹² Wachsmuth (1871b) 701 n.: 'Beiläufig hebe ich noch hervor, dass sich in den späteren Auflagen [*scil.*, of the Giuntine ed.] unter dem Titel »Galenī liber de historia philosophica Julio Martiano interprete« folgende gelehrte Erörterung findet:' (Mercuriale's note then follows; note that Wachsmuth is silent about its author). Perhaps Chartier's remark 'alij Aetium' had inspired him to check this point in the earlier editions. It is to be recalled that Wachsmuth was thoroughly familiar with the literature at issue because the collations Usener had put at Diels' disposal had been made by him in Italy, and making collations of the mss. of course also entails consulting the early printed editions; see Usener's words cited from Diels' autobiography by Kern (1927) 35 quoted above, text to n. 25.

⁹³ *DG* 241 n. 1: 'in posterioribus Iuntinae editionibus sub titulo *Galenī liber de historia philosophica Julio Martiano interprete* haec est docta cuiusdam adnotatio:' (Mercuriale's note then follows, attributed to an anonymous 'quidam'). But in a letter to Wilamowitz dated May 25 1880, Braun & al. (1995b) 50, Diels writes: 'Stanley kannte die Parallele der *Placita* aus der interpolierten Galenausgabe des Charterius, wie der Titel περὶ φιλοσόφων ιστορίας zeigt, den Namen Aetius hat er aus Fabricius B[iliotheca] Gr[aeca] der die *Doxogr.* p. 241¹ abgedruckte Vermutung des Arztes Martianus Rota excerpirt', so he really attributed the note to Rota. We may note that meanwhile he had become aware of the reference in Fabricius (cf. above, n. 85).

Wachsmuth's quotation. It is hardly credible that it did not, at least in part, inspire his own concern with Aëtius⁹⁴ and T.

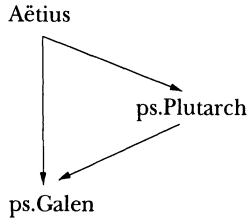
The hypothesis as formulated and argued by Mercuriale is excellent. The *Historia philosopha* ascribed to Galen cannot be by Galen, so it has to be by someone else. T mentions three authors dealing with the historiography of Greek philosophy: Aëtius Plutarch Porphyry. G, although very similar to P, cannot be identified with the latter which we still have. He cannot be the same as Porphyry, because Porphyry's work was at least in part biographical, like that of Diogenes Laërtius. So Aëtius remains as the only possible candidate for the authorship of the *Historia philosopha*. But Mercuriale appends a caveat. Because G and P contain 'eadem saepe verba', it is also possible that G has been composed 'from both', i.e. from both P and Aëtius. There is a snag here, for the similarities between G and P had been much enhanced by the interpolations from P in Rota's translation of G, upon which Mercuriale's inferences are partly based. But even when we subtract these interpolations more than enough remains to support his point (we have noticed that Diels in the *DG* considers the relevant sections of G to have been derived from a fuller version of P).

Mercuriale's caveat therefore to some extent anticipates the part of Diels' hypothesis according to which a large chunk of G derives from P. The main suggestion made at the beginning of his note, viz. that G may have been written by Aëtius, entails the assumption that the sections in P that correspond to sections in G (or conversely) are derived from Aëtius as well, and so pinpoints Aëtius as a possible source for P. The caveat then entails that the compiler of G may have used Aëtius both indirectly (because he is the source of P) and directly. In some way or other, T is also involved. This is Diels' A hypothesis in an embryonic form: (i) A as a possible source of P, (ii) P or A as a possible source for G, and (iii) T as a source of relevant information on these ancient historiographers of philosophy.

Mercuriale, who is content to substitute the name of Aëtius for that of Galen, is not clear about the relation among the sources

⁹⁴ The earliest extant mention of Aëtius by Diels is in the letter to Usener of April 23 1872, Ehlers (1992) 1.57, i.e. after the publication of Wachsmuth's review. Whether the name also occurs in Usener's letter of March 13 of the same year (Ehlers (1992) 1.56) seems uncertain, because Ehlers prints 'Aetios (?)'.

involved but his caveat may be represented by the following stemma:



Yet Mercuriale was not the first to formulate a form of the Aëtius hypothesis. The suggestion was first aired by the important and learned philosopher Francesco Patrizi (Franciscus Patricius, 1529–97) in the first volume of his unbelievably learned *Discussiones Peripateticae*, first printed Venice 1571 and reprinted—in an expanded edition in four volumes—Basle 1581.⁹⁵ In this volume Patrizi discusses the works of Aristotle and among other things provides the first collection ever of the fragments of Aristotle’s lost works. He also discusses questions of authenticity and argues that a number of works are falsely ascribed to Aristotle. He shores up his argument by discussing works falsely attributed to other famous men, and in this context provides an extensive list of treatises wrongly ascribed to Galen, among which the *Historia philosopha*:

Philosophica historia: (quae ut ex Theodoreti libris 3. 4. & 5 Graecarum passionum collegi, Aetij est).⁹⁶

There is no reason to doubt that the industrious Patrizi had indeed consulted T and inferred that the *Historia philosopha* must be by Aëtius; his reasoning may have been similar to that formulated by Mercuriale. But there is more. Patrizi (just as Budé, Rota, and Gessner before him) noticed the resemblance between G and P. He moreover (like Mercuriale) anticipates Diels’ hypothesis that the former depends on the latter:

[...] historia philosophica Aetij, Galeno attributa, in qua multa sunt eadem cum his, quae ex Plutarcho attulimus.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ See Muccillo (1981). On Patrizi see also Sandys (1903–8) 2.152f.

⁹⁶ *Disc. perip.* 1.29.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 72.

Quae autem in philosophica historia Aetij Aristotelis dogmata citantur, diximus superius omnia [...] ex Plutarcho ad verbum fere exscripta esse.⁹⁸

Elsewhere in the *Disc. perip.* and also in the *Nova de universis philosophia* of 1591,⁹⁹ he invariably quotes G under the name Aëtius.

In the first passage quoted above Patrizi made a mistake (or failed to correct a printer's error). He refers to Theodoret *GAC* books III, IV, and V whereas the name Aëtius, as we have noticed above, is not found in book III but at 2.95, 4.31, and 5.16. We have already seen that Mercuriale, who omits book V, does refer to books II and IV. One cannot be certain that Mercuriale was familiar with the passage from the *Disc. perip.* quoted above; if he was, he must have checked the reference, for he rightly has book II instead of book III and his discussion of the three authors cited by T (not to be found in Patrizi) proves, or so we believe, that he studied the text.

5. *Possevino, Jonsius, Bacon, Fabricius and Brucker*

Antonio Possevino (1534–1611), scholar, ecclesiastic and diplomat, published the second volume of his learned encyclopedia, the *Bibliotheca selecta de ratione studiorum*, in 1593.¹⁰⁰ Book XIII in this volume bears the title *De philosophia generatim, mox de Platonica, deinde de Aristotelica, et eius interpretibus*. Here he speaks of the theory—which he rejects—of the ancient authors who attribute the invention of philosophy to the Greeks and among others mentions Aëtius:¹⁰¹

ut [...] et Aëtius scripsit in historia Philosophica, quae falso est ascripta Galeno, id quod Theodoretus libro tertio, quarto et quinto Graecarum affectionum docet.

The reference, including the *Leitfehler*, viz. book III instead of book II, must derive from Patrizi, for Mercuriale, as we have noticed,

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 83.

⁹⁹ E.g. Lib. VIII, 1: 'et qui eorum sententias retulere, non plene, sed concisim retulere, Plutarchus, Aetius, Laertius, Hesychius, Stobaeus'. These passages were brought to our notice by Dr Keimpe Algra. Patrizi had sold the Stobaeus ms. in his possession (together with a number of other manuscripts) to the library of Philip II, King of Spain, in 1576, i.e. five years after the publication of vol. 1 of the *Discussiones*, see Jacobs (1908).

¹⁰⁰ Rome; repr. Venice 1603, revised ed. Cologne 1607.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 2.59.

mentions books II and IV (note, on the other hand, that in the title of T he has the word 'affectuum' which is also found in Mercuriale, not Patrizi's 'passionum', but this need not entail that his remark is a conflation of what is in Mercuriale and Patrizi). Possevino knew and cites the Galen edition by Costaeus of 1586 (= Giunta 6), in which as we have noticed Mercuriale's foreword was reprinted from Giunta 5. He praises this foreword at Lib. XIV, *De medicina*, cap. xiii, *Galenus Pergamenus*,¹⁰² but apparently failed to take the note preceding the translation of the *Historia philosopha* into account. We may observe that the formula 'quod Theodoretus docet' is inaccurate, for T shows nothing of the kind; one needs an argument with additional premises to infer the attribution from what he says.

Possevino was considered to have been the first to ascribe the *Historia philosopha* to Aëtius by the German scholar Jonsius (Johann Jönsen, 1624–59),¹⁰³ for whom the Cologne edition of the encyclopedia of course must have been recent literature. In his *De scriptoribus historiae philosophiae* we learn that Jonsius checked the references he found in Possevino, pointed out the mistake (viz. that Possivino should have said book II not III), quoted the relevant passages from T, and argued that the words 'ut Theodoretus docet' do not prove what Possivino says they do, yet accepted the ascription to Aëtius:¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² *Ibid.* 2.60, Mercuriale described as 'virum ... vera eruditione, ac pietate praeditum'.

¹⁰³ For what is known of Jonsius' brief life and the scope and method of his pioneering history of the historiography of philosophy see Dal Pra (1948) 159ff.; cf. also Bursian (1883) 314f., Rak (1971) 90ff., and Del Torre (1977) 30ff. Jonsius (1659) 3 says that Theodoret (but note that Theodoret is not explicit about this distinction) distinguishes two classes of historians, viz. those who wrote about the 'dogmata tantum' and those who wrote about the 'dogmata simul et vitas'. He points out that one should add as a third class those who wrote about the 'vitas tantum', but should also include those who wrote 'de libris, et scriptis, de discipulis, adversariis, sectis, successionibus, fortuna, locis modisque docendi'. This constitutes an embryonic anticipation of the distinction between doxography and biography which is fundamental for Diels' argument in the *DG* (though Diels called everything biography which is not, in Jonsius' words, 'dogmata tantum'). Philosophy, for Jonsius, is mainly ancient philosophy; his concept of philosophy moreover includes the liberal arts. Dorn († 1752) in the second edition added chapters dealing with the Renaissance historians, with those of the 17th cent., and with his own contemporaries.

¹⁰⁴ Jonsius (1659) lib. IV, 'De incognitae aetatis scriptoribus', 236f.

Aetius in historia philosophica locum aliquem sibi vindicat, quod dogmata singulorum philosophorum consignaverit. Testatur hoc Theodoretus θεράπ. Sermon. II [Greek text and Latin translation]. Iterum sermone IV [Greek text and Latin translation]. Tandem sermone V [Greek text and Latin translation].

Possevinus lib. XII¹⁰⁵ Biblioth. Tract. IV cap. 1 ex his locis probare vult, historiam illam philosophicam, quae Galeni nomine circumfertur, esse Aetii. *Aetius*, ait, *scripsit in Historia Philosophica, quae falso est adscripta Galeno, id quod Theodoretus Lib. III. (secundum nominare debebat) IV. & V. Graecarum affect. docet.* Verum licet non negemus, Aetium esse istius Historicae auctorem, e Theodoro tamen id probari posse propterea negemus, quod Galeni nullam Theodoretus mentionem faciat. Nisi forte ad excusandum Possevinum dicere velis, verba esse referenda, quod nimirum Aetius in Historia Philosophica aliquid scripserit; si eiusmodi excusatio valere possit.

Aetatem hujus Aetii indicare non licet, cum nulla ejus supersint indicia, nisi quae posterior dies suppeditabit.¹⁰⁶

Jonsius is the first to give the three references to Theodoret's *GAC* correctly. He is an important source for important and influential authors writing in the eighteenth century. Fabricius, speaking of the *Placita* of P and of the *Historia philosopha*, says

alterum vero ex altero emendari et suppleri potest, ut notavit J. Jonsius de scriptoribus Historiae Philosophica p. 268.¹⁰⁷

This observation, however, is as old as the sixteenth century, see above on Gessner and Rota, and below on Canter. The correct references to T on Aëtius are given by Fabricius in a later volume,¹⁰⁸ where he also seems to follow Jonsius in distinguishing the doxographer Aëtius from his two homonyms:

Aëtii cujusdam τὴν περὶ ἀρεσκόντων τοῖς Φιλοσόφοις συναγωγὴν *collectionem eorum quae Philosophis placuerunt*, laudat Theodoritus, atque ex illa quemadmodum ex Plutarchi & Porphyrii libris

¹⁰⁵ Presumably a misprint for XIII.

¹⁰⁶ Jonsius (1659) 319 then distinguishes this Aëtius from Aëtius of Antioch and Aëtius of Amida: 'Distinguendus ab hoc Aetio est Aetius ille haereticus [...]. Alius item est Aetius medicus ...'. 'Con particolare insistenza il Jonsio sta a chiarire [viz., as a a general rule] quanti personaggi sono esistiti dello stesso nome', Dal Pra (1948) 166. For Jonsius on [ps.]Plutarch see below, n. 119.

¹⁰⁷ Fabricius (1705–28) t. 5, lib. IV cap. xi, 361f.; he calls P 'utile et succinctum', but cf. below, text to n. 116.

¹⁰⁸ Fabricius (1705–28) t. 8 (publ. 1717), lib. V cap. xxiii, 330. We may observe that Diels, *DG* 49, refers to 'Fabric. IX 243 H.', i.e. to Harles' edition of Fabricius, for the distinction between the various Aëtii.

ejusdem argumenti nonnulla referre se ait libro II. & IV. atque V. de curatione Graecarum affect. Hunc Aëtium Ethnicum fuisse, ex eodem Theodorito colligere licet, quoniam ejus activitatem ubi adversus Ethnicos scribit, illis opponit ne videatur Philosophis injuriam facere quorum dissidia & opiniones ineptas persequitur. Fuit itaque Aëtius iste ab haeretico pariter, Medicoque diversus, quos ambos certum est è Christianis extitisse.

By way of an interlude we may quote a most interesting comment by the great philosopher Francis Bacon (1561–1626), to be found in his *De augmentis scientiarum* of 1623.¹⁰⁹ He refers to the *Placita*—which clearly he considers to be *the* ancient form of a history of philosophy—as by Plutarch, but uses the term *placita* also in a more general sense and suggests that a new collection of this kind should be made; not, however, as in P, that is to say arranged according to topics, but according to the individual philosophies. In other words, what he is already asking for is *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*.

Quod ad *Placita Antiquorum Philosophorum*, qualia fuerint Pythagorae, Philolai, Xenophanis, Anaxagorae, Parmenidis, Leucippi, Democriti, aliorum, (quae homines contemptim percurrere solent) non abs re fuerit paulo modestius in ea oculos conjicere. Etsi enim Aristoteles, more Ottomanorum, regnare se haud tuto posse putaret, nisi fratres suos omnes contrucidasset;¹¹⁰ tamen iis, qui non regnum aut magisterium sed veritatis inquisitionem atque illustrationem sibi proponunt, non potest non videri res utilis diversarum diversorum circa rerum naturas opiniones sub uno aspectu intueri. Neque tamen abest spes, quod veritas aliqua purior ex illis aut similibus theoriis speranda ullo modo sit. [...] Optarim igitur ex *Vitis Antiquorum Philosophorum*, ex fasciculo Plutarchi de *Placitis* eorum, ex citationibus Platonis, ex confutationibus Aristotelis, ex sparsa mentione quae habetur in aliis libris, tam ecclesiasticis quam ethnicis, (Lactantio, Philone, Philostrato, et reliquis), opus confici cum diligentia et judicio de *Antiquis Philosophiis*. Tale enim opus nondum extare video. Attamen hic moneo, ut hoc fiat distincte, ita ut singulae Philosophiae seorsum componantur et

¹⁰⁹ Bacon (1623, 1858) 563f.; the English version was finished 1622 and it took the translators hired by Bacon some time to deliver the published Latin version. We do not know whether Bacon knew Stephanus (1573), but this edition of a number of fragments (with its thin introduction) would at any rate not have met his standards.

¹¹⁰ A nice description of what we now call Aristotle's dialectic. A footnote at Bacon (1858) 563f. quotes Pope's line 'Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne' and tells us that the practice was officially introduced by Mehmed the Second and that, in 1595, Mehmed the Third executed nineteen of his brothers and about a dozen ladies believed to be with child by his father.

continuentur; non per titulos et fasciculos (quod Plutarchus [i.e. P.] fecit) excipiantur. Quaevis enim Philosophia integra seipsam sustentat, atque dogmata ejus sibi mutuo et lumen et robur adjiciunt; quod si distrahantur, peregrinum quiddam et durum sonant.

Bacon's insight is important; he really has noticed that works composed in the manner of a P are not immediately conducive to an appreciation of the true intentions of the philosophers there treated. What he believes—without bothering about the traditions involved—is that a collection of the various pieces of evidence concerned with each individual system will show this in its true light, and that the philosopher's search for the truth will be furthered by a full and unbiased overview of the intuitions of his early colleagues.

But we should return to the polymaths. High praise for Jonsius' book and even higher praise for Fabricius' volumes ('quibus scriptis nemo carere poterit, qui in perscrutandis monumentis veteris historiae ingeniorum humanorum feliciter versari cupit') is found in the introductory section of the first volume of Jacob Brucker's¹¹¹ great and immensely influential *Historia critica philosophiae*.¹¹² In the next volume, he briefly discusses P¹¹³ and G.¹¹⁴ He points out that it has been doubted ('licet non nemini incertum sit') that the *De placitis philosophorum* is really by Plutarch, but this doubt is drowned in a laudation of Plutarch as a source for ancient philosophy. In his brief account of G he follows Jonsius (and Fabricius):

Tribui quoque solet Galeno *historia philosophica*, sive placitorum philosophicorum apud Graecos enarratio; verum unum idemque scriptum esse, cum eo, quod de *placitis Philosophorum* scripsit Plutarchus [no doubt here], sed neutrum integrum, ex collatione patet,

¹¹¹ On Jacob Brucker (1696–1770) see Bursian (1883) 359, Braun (1973) 119ff., Del Torre (1976) 69ff., and Bottin & al. (1979) 527ff.

¹¹² Brucker (1742) 1.32.

¹¹³ Brucker (1742) 2.181, with references to the learned literature. One may note the reference to the influential Dutch polygraph Gerardus Johannes Vossius, who suggested, Vossius (1618 = 1701) 891f., that the work may have been composed by a later Plutarch ('forte junioris alicuius'). Cf. also Vossius (1623) lib. II, 169 (we have seen Francfort 1677, 210). Vossius' argument was quoted with approval by Jonsius (1659) 234, who says this view is more plausible than the authority of the Fathers. Vossius was also followed by e.g. Mollerus (1697) 332f. On G. J. Vossius see Rademaker (1981), with bibliography of Vossius' works *ibid.* 355ff. Wilamowitz (1927) 31 (Engl. transl. 63) points out: 'Sein Buch de historicis Graecis et latinis, eine der sehr seltenen literarhistorischen Arbeiten, hat sich bis in die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts behauptet'; cf. also Rademaker 185f.

¹¹⁴ Brucker (1742) 2.188, with references to the learned literature.

recteque observatum IONSIO [reference given], unum ex altero posse suppleri.

6. *Xylander, Corsini and Beck*

The *Placita* of P were translated into Latin by the distinguished philologist Gulielmus Xylander (Wilhelm Holtzman, 1532–76) and published in a volume containing other *moralia*, Basle 1574. In his preface,¹¹⁵ Xylander—who therefore takes a line quite different from that of Lacuna, Gessner & *alii*—argues that the information provided by this treatise is unreliable and advises the reader to consult, and quote, Aristotle and other authors which are still available rather than the inaccurate tidbits to be found in the *Placita* (our italics):

Hic mihi praefari licet ac libet, multa me potuisse emendare ex Aristotele, Platone, Diogene Laertio, aliis: quae vel adducuntur corrupta, vel ponuntur mutila. Feci autem intra modum quicquid feci, quia commentariis potius quam annotationibus mihi res fuisset agenda. Mutilitate multa dici intelliges uno exemplo capite huius libri primo ubi natura definitur ex Aristotele: ita quidem, ut minimum Aristoteleae disciplinae sectatorem iure paenitere possit: sic definire si didicisset, res est obvia. Verum philosophorum sententiae longe rectius (si quem ea sive diligentia sive curiositas tangit) ex Aristotele & eius interpretibus aliisque scriptionibus etiam historicis quam ex hoc volumine petentur. Quod ego tamen nequaquam contemno, sed quid iudicem, & sciam verum esse, propono, mei excusandi gratia, praesertim cum non nesciam quosdam superbire citandis philosophorum decretis, abusos his libris quorum librorum alioquin sua est non paenitenda utilitas. *Sed insaniunt qui his libris scire se putant quid de quaque in iis proposita resenserint philosophi.*

Xylander saw that the lemmata more often than not provide information, which when compared with that to be found in such originals as are still available is of little worth because it is incomplete or even false. He made a number of corrections but did so with moderation. His note of warning demonstrates his remarkable critical acumen; in fact, he is ahead of his time. The hypothesis of Diels, which has the lemmata about the Presocratics

¹¹⁵ We quote p. 19 from the reprinted ed. Francfort 1599 (Diels *DG* 41 does not refer to the edition of 1572). On Xylander see Bursian (1883) 228ff., Schöll (1898), and Pfeiffer (1976) 140f.; the *Moralia* are still referred to by Xylander's page-numbers. Xylander's words are quoted by Fabricius, *loc. cit.* above, n. 107, and printed without comment in the posthumously published edition of Bd. 9 of the works of Plutarch by J. Reiske (Leipzig 1778) 467f.

(and Plato?) derive virtually unscathed from a Theophrastus, who was believed to be a decent and reliable source, in fact encourages the uncritical use of material that—though not devoid of interest on its own account—is in principle rather unreliable from a historical point of view. Xylander compared the lemmata about Plato and Aristotle with the Plato and Aristotle we still have, and drew the obvious conclusion that the lemmata about the others must have the same quality.

But Xylander's criticism was to some extent neutralized by no less a scholar than the influential Fabricius who, although referring to his statement ('licet insaniunt, inquit Xylander'), as we have seen characterized the *Placita* as 'utile et succinctum'. But in another work, viz. the *Historia Bibliothecae*, Fabricius clearly is hardly less cautious than Xylander, for here he points out:¹¹⁶

non tamen credas te his libris lectis penitus scire, quid de quaque in iis proposita re senserint philosophi.

A separate edition of the Greek text of P, with Latin translation, introduction, and comments, was published by the Italian cleric and scholar Ed. Corsini (Corsinus, 1702–65).¹¹⁷ Corsini believed

¹¹⁶ Fabricius (1717-24) Pars III (publ. 1719) p. 68; here the *Placita* is Nr. 47 on the list of Plutarch's *Moralia*. Compare the passage from the other work cited above, n. 107.

¹¹⁷ Corsini (1750). He says he follows a suggestion by Fabricius, on p. xx quoting in italics the following words which (without giving an exact reference) he attributes to the German scholar: 'separatim exstarent excusi in iuvenum usus; neque Voluminum magnitudine fieret, ut Scholis omnibus, & iuvenum fere Museis exulet Plutarchus'. We have not been able to find this in Fabricius, though *ad sententiam* this is what Fabricius says in the passage cited supra, text to n. 107. Corsini also cites Xylander's verdict (presumably from Fabricius), only to reject it with scorn. Harles in vol. 5 of the revised Fabricius (1790-1812⁴) appends a note to the reference to Xylander (see above, n. 115), in which he refers to Corsini's view that the treatise is genuine and also mentions Beck's edition. Reiske (1759) 114 refers to the views of Vossius, Jonsius and Corsini about the author of the *Placita*, but refrains from making his own position clear. His notes on the text (529ff.) take Corsini's edition as their starting-point; here he speaks of 'Plutarch' (e.g. 541), suggesting that the Chaeronean wrote the tract as an *aide-mémoire*. In some cases he compares the text of P with that of S (531, 543) or of G (542). On Johann Jacob Reiske (1716–74) see Bursian (1883) 407ff.; eulogy of Reiske and scorn for his Batavian and other enemies at Wilamowitz (1927) 42 (English transl. 95) and high praise at Diels *DG* 41f., who says Reiske has been unjustly slandered by the Batavians. We may note in passing that the Swiss Batavian D. Wyttenbach (1746-1820)—one of Reiske's detractors; on him see Müller (1869) 91, 94ff., and on Müller himself the disparaging words of Wilamowitz (1927) 64 (Engl. transl. 95)—in his edition of Plutarch

that the *Placita* are by Plutarch himself, who—he argues—excerpted the original works of the philosophers involved.¹¹⁸ For Plutarch would not have included a number of primitive and little known tenets if he had not diligently studied the originals. The observation that odd tenets are to be found throughout the *Placita* is perceptive, but Corsini's inference of course does not follow.

In his introduction Corsini also discusses a number of references in ancient authors to the treatise and its author and argues that Theodoret *GAC* book II, when referring to Plutarch, Aëtius and Porphyry, must mean the famous Plutarch of Chaeronea.¹¹⁹

Corsini had studied his Fabricius and the editions he could lay hold of. He points out that according to Rota the Aëtius mentioned by T is the author of the *De Philosophica Historia* which accordingly is printed in the *classis spuria* in the Giuntine edition as well as in that of Chartier. He refers to Fabricius for the fact that we must distinguish this Aëtius from his medical and Christian homonyms, so his information about Rota as the inventor of the attribution—another *Leitfehler*—will derive from Fabricius as well. This Aëtius, he says, speaks 'Plutarchi plerumque verbis' but also excerpted other authors. Corsini cites Fabricius' suggestion that Sextus Empiricus is ps. Galen's/Aëtius' source for the discussion of the principles, but points out that both Sextus and Aëtius may derive from Plutarch. He further argues that Stobaeus¹²⁰ depends on Plutarch as well.¹²¹

exercised exemplary caution, see his (1797), note on p. 347: 'Compendium est majoris operis, sive plutarchei, sive alterius; certe compendium, neque illud a Plutarcho factum'. Wyttenbach's contributions to the *constitutio* of the text of Plutarch are more important than those of Reiske (see F. C. Babbit in vol. 1 of the Loeb *Moralia*, xxivf.), but this is by the way.

On Corsini see Baldini (1983), and the interesting chapter in Bottin & al. (1979) 321ff., where Corsini is said to be 'una delle maggiori personalità culturali del primo Settecento italiano' (321). In one of the essays added to his edition of P he argues that the discoveries of modern philosophers have been anticipated by the ancients. Cf. also Sandys (1903–8) 2.379.

¹¹⁸ Corsini (1750) xvff. That the *Plac.* cannot have been compiled by Plutarch was definitively proved on linguistic grounds by Weissenberger (1896) 44ff.: use of un-Plutarchean expressions and constructions (e.g. 'οὐ statt μὴ in den Konsekutivsätzen'), hiatus not avoided. See below, Ch. 3, p. 124.

¹¹⁹ Yet Jonsius (1659) (cf. above, text after n. 114) had already pointed out that this merely shows that the Fathers honestly but incorrectly believed the famous Plutarch to be the author.

¹²⁰ Available to him in the Geneva reprint (1609) of Canter's edition, for which see the next section.

¹²¹ Corsini (1750) xvii.

Quamvis autem alicubi Scriptor ille [*scil.*, S] genio suo indulgeat, atque a Plutarcho mire dissideat; pluribus tamen in locis eadem prorsus Plutarchi verba, sed alio tamen ordine, exscribit; pluresque Philosophorum sententias a Plutarcho omissas interserit.

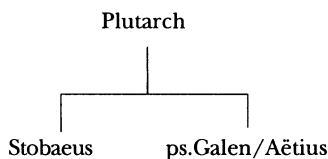
This insight about S is interesting. Corsini's point is that S excerpted [ps.]Plutarch but inserted a lot of other material. We may recall that Diels argued that both P and a number of excerpts in S derive from the common source he called Aëtius.

Corsini also offers other interesting observations. He is aware of the fact that much of Stobaeus has been lost and cites the table of contents preserved by Photius (which, as we have seen above,¹²² was known to Gessner who had not yet been able to see a text of S, but which Canter, the editor of the *editio princeps* of the *Eclogae physicae*, whom we shall meet in the next section, does not seem to have been aware of). In the course of his argument in favour of the famous Plutarch as the author of the *Placita* he shrewdly points out, although in an off-hand way, that the tenets that have been assembled disagree among themselves to a degree.¹²³ We have already seen that he also noticed the fact that the *Placita* preserves a number of curious tenets.

For the *constitutio* of his text Corsini used G, Eusebius and S:¹²⁴

quum maxima horum Librorum pars a Galeno in *Historia Philosophica*, ab Eusebio in *Praeparatione Evangelica*, a Stobaeo in *Eclogis Physicis* exscripta fuerit.

We may translate this analysis into the following stemma:



Another edition of the *Placita*, a quite solid one, was published not long afterwards by Christianus Danielus Beckius (1757–1832).¹²⁵ He is the first editor to use readings of the Mosquensis

¹²² See above, n. 82.

¹²³ 'dissidentes adeo ... sententias', *ibid.* xx.

¹²⁴ Corsini (1750) xxiv.

¹²⁵ On this scholar see Bursian (1883) 422ff. Ziegler (1951) 879 says: 'Beck in der Vorrede seiner Sonderausgabe [*scil.*, xxiiiiff.] bemerkte zuerst die starken Übereinstimmungen der Schrift [viz., P] einerseits mit einer Reihe

ms. (recently but imperfectly collated by Matthaeus). He compares the parallels in G, S, and P *ap.* Eusebium, and adds conjectures by Corsini, Reiske, and himself. Beck provides an interesting introduction. He does not share Corsini's enthusiasm for the qualities of the work—as a matter of fact, he is very precise in indicating its many shortcomings—and endorses Xylander's criticism,¹²⁶ but does believe that the work deserves to be studied because it inspires one to adduce and compare the information to be found elsewhere and in this way stimulates one's critical acumen. Its value entirely depends on that of its (ultimate) sources. Beck's critical observation, echoing to some extent that of his lonely predecessor Xylander, heralds the new age of historical criticism.

According to Beck P is the *epitome* of a much richer treatise which with some hesitation he ascribes to Plutarch of Chaeronea.¹²⁷ Plutarch, so he believes, excerpted Aristotle's *Physics* and *Meteorologica* and Plato's *Timaeus*.¹²⁸ But he thinks that the anonymous excerptor of Plutarch did a bad job.

Beck also discussed the parallel texts.¹²⁹ G is so similar to P that both works should either be attributed to the same author or be considered to derive from a common source. Stobaeus excerpted the source used by P.¹³⁰ Beck's description of Stobaeus' methods is surprisingly good:

(Stobaeus) plurima philosophorum decreta iisdem, quibus nostrum [scil., P] verbis exprimit, alia, quae in nostro desunt, addit; coniungit, quae in hoc libello capita sunt divisa; longe diverso plura

von Exzerpten in den 'Εκλογαὶ φυσικαὶ καὶ ἠθικαὶ [sic] des Stobaios, andererseits mit Ps.Galen περὶ φιλοσόφου ἱστορίας', but this attribution of priority is not correct. What is true is that Beck was the first to compare these three sources throughout.

¹²⁶ Beck (1787) ix f. n. **. *Ibid.*, he also refers to Meiners (1781–82) who at 1.155 n. ** speaks of the 'Verfasser des elenden Buches *de placitis philosophorum*'; cf. also the laudatory review of Beck by Buhle (1787) 1979ff. (on Johann Gottlieb Buhle, 1763–1821, see Bursian (1883) 505f.); another review by Schneider (1787), on whom see Bursian (1883) 509ff., 754ff. For the more important review published in the *Göttinger Bibliothek der alten Literatur und Kunst* (1788) Bd. 3, 99–104, see below, Ch. 1, §7.

¹²⁷ This is Heeren's hypothesis (see below, text to n. 138) which was known to Beck. Buhle (see previous note) 1981 points out that the extras in S may derive from another source than P.

¹²⁸ Beck (1787) xiii n. *.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, xxiff.

¹³⁰ Cf. above, text to n. 120.

exhibet ordine; quaedam brevius tradit, sed nonnulla tam copiose¹³¹ et diligenter, ut vestigia antiqui libri mihi reperisse visus sim, unde contraxisse sua Noster [*scil.*, P] putari possit.

According to Beck the *Philosophumena* of Origen (i.e. Hippolytus) for all its similarity belongs to different genre, but P, G and S 'have a common source from where they have been drawn' (habere communem, unde ducta sint, fontem).¹³²

For his edition Beck systematically compared these parallel texts and a number of other sources: not only Plato, Aristotle, and Simplicius, but also Achilles (whom he calls Achilles Tattius) and others. He says that he has carefully indicated the modifications he wishes to introduce, and pertinently comments on the 'pestilential habit' ('morem ... pestiferum') of earlier editors who often sinned by failing to point out where they had corrected their text.

7. Canter, Heeren, R(uhnke)n and Tennemann

The resemblance between P and the excerpts in S was already noticed by the first editor of S, the unbelievably industrious Willem Canter (Gulielmus Canterus, 1542–75).¹³³ It was published by Plantin, Antwerpen 1575 (reprinted Genève 1609), as part of a miscellaneous volume: *Johannis Stobaei Eclogarum Libri Duo, quorum prior Physicas, posterior Ethicas complectitur: nunc primum Graece editi interprete Gulielmo Cantero, una et Gemisti Plethonis De Rebus Pelopones. Orationes Duae eodem Gulielmo Cantero interprete. Accessit alter eiusdem Plethonis libellus Graecus De Virtutibus. Ex Bibliotheca C. V. I. Sambuci*. Canter had only one manuscript at his disposal, provided by Sambucus. On the first page of his 'In Stobæum prolegomena'¹³⁴ he writes as follows:

¹³¹ It should be noted that Beck obviously includes the lemmata Diels later attributed to AD.

¹³² *Ibid.* xxvii. Beck xxv n. *** rejects the view of Meiners (1781–2) 1.156 ('nach dem angeblichen Plutarch, dem Johannes Stobäus fast durchgehends folgt'), and *ibid.* 159 ('nach dem angeblichen Plutarch und dessen Ausschreiber Stobäus'), that S copies P.

¹³³ Willem Canter was born in Leeuwarden and died at Leuven. He always worked, reading the first half of the day and writing the second half, an hour-glass on his working table. A list of authors published by him and of his more important other philological publications is to be found at Foppens (1739) 394ff. and at Van der Aa (1852) 2.37; see also Kenney (1974) 36f., Pfeiffer (1976) 125, and Molhuysen & al. (1974) 560.

¹³⁴ Reprinted in Botfield (1861) 589. We quote from the original edition.

Et quoniam Physicorum pars aliqua de Plutarchi libro περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων à Stobæo ferè ad verbum desumpta est, quae ex eius collatione potuerunt à nobis corrigi, Graeco codici suis locis adiunximus, siquidem nostras de gravioribus vitiis opiniones in alium locum, ut dicemus, reiecimus. Quemadmodum porrò verba Plutarchi ipsa Stobæus in suis retulit, sic etiam capitum titulos ab illo mutuatus cùm esset, rectè nos quae in ipsius codice fuerant omissa, de illo transcripsimus.

Accordingly, Canter restored the text of S using what he saw as the *original* text excerpted by Stobaeus. He also (re-)installed the *chapter-titles* from P and rearranged the text accordingly. From the point of view of the editor of an ancient author such a procedure is of course indefensible.¹³⁵ But Canter did notice an important aspect of Stobaeus' methodology, viz. that he *coalesces* chapters from the source excerpted and *combines* the titles of individual chapters. In this context his remark about the chapter-titles is

¹³⁵ Cf. Corsini (1750) xviii: '... Canterus se ... 230. locorum emendationes in margine adnotasse dicit, simulque Capitum titulos, qui in Stobaeo deerant, ex Plutarcho addidisse: quo plane fieri oportuit, ut Canterus alicubi Plutarchi potius, quam Stobaei, textum expresserit'; Beck (1787) xxv n., 'Caeterum Canterus non raro ex nostro libello [scil., P] Stobaeum suum interpolavit'; Heeren (1792) l.xxif.: '*Capitum distinctiones et inscriptiones* in Cant. editis omnino confusae et passim corruptae sunt. Cum nempe Stobaeus multa ex *Plutarchi libris de placitis philosophorum*, (quos ab illo longe pleniores, quam hodie extant, lectos fuisse ostendemus in *commentatione de fontibus Stobaei* [see below, n. 142 and text thereto]), in opus suum transcripserit, Canterus inde, quod ipse in praefatione profitetur, capitum quoque ordinem et titulos mutuatus est; unde fieri debuit, ut eorum divisio in editis longe diversa sit ab ea quae in codd. mnscripitis reperitur'. The remark of Kenney (1974) 79f. n. 4 that Sambucus edited the Stobaeus and that Canter merely 'saw it through the press' is misleading; he presumably follows the inaccurate reportage of Gerstinger (1968) 315f. Sambucus, famous as a collector of printed books and manuscripts but also known as a part-time editor, only provided the ms. used for the edition (a copy of one in his possession, with his emendations and with additions from another ms.) which, as he writes in a letter dated January 8 1568, he had sent to Plantin (the latter wrote to Fulvius Orsinus on 26 March 1569 'Stobaei Physica ad me misit Sambucus', quoted Gerstinger (1968) 84). The ms. therefore was in Plantin's hands at least seven years before the publication of the book. On Sambucus (1531–84) see further Gerstinger (1926) and (1966). For Sambucus' generosity in putting mss. at the disposal of future editors see Borsa and Walsh (1965); this one page catalogue, dated 8 April 1583, lists the books 'quos Ian. Sambucus vel suos typis edidit, vel bibliothecae aliena pignora prodidit, vel praecipue adhuc divulganda pro manibus habet'. Its second section lists 'quae edenda curabit et quae modo sub prelo sunt. 1582'. The first section is a list of books that have been published and of manuscripts that have already been distributed, the Stobaeus being listed as follows: 'Ioannis Stobaei Eclogas Physicas protulit. Ibidem [i.e. Antwerp: Plant.]'.

important, although his explanation, viz. that not S but the defective transmission in his codex (which seems to have disappeared) is to blame, is wrong. It is noteworthy that he is silent about the extracts in S which are lacking in P—but the codex in his view was defective—and that he does not refer to G. Nevertheless his editing of the S extracts as rearranged after P may be viewed as an abortive attempt at *reconstructing* Aëtius; not, however, as an independent author but as part of S.

The next editor of Stobaeus' *Eclogae*, more than two hundred years later, was Arnold Hermann Ludwig Heeren (1760–1842).¹³⁶ The first two volumes of his edition were published in 1792, the third and fourth in 1801. On 2 July 1785, in a meeting of the Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften at Göttingen,¹³⁷ the great classical philologist Ch. G. Heyne (1729–1812) had communicated a contribution by Heeren entitled *De fontibus Eclogarum physicarum Ioannis Stobaei*. In this paper Heeren revealed that he had gained access to a ms. in the library of the Escorial which as he believed was more complete than the others known so far.¹³⁸ He also made an important point about Stobaeus' sources:

Die Quellen, woraus die Eclogae geschöpft sind, werden theils so angegeben, daß [...] nur der Inhalt mit des Excerptors Worten angegeben ist; theils daß die eigenen Worten des Schriftstellers ausgezogen sind. Hr. M. H(eeren) macht daher zwei Classen der Quellen; In dem ersten, worinn die alten Schriftsteller bloß summarisch excerptirt sind, bemerkte man schon längst grosse Übereinstimmung mit dem unter Plutarchs Namen gehenden Werk de placitis philosophorum, was aber mehr noch ausser diesem im Stobäus vorkommt, sollte von ihm [*scil.*, S] aus den alten Philosophen geschöpft seyn; Hr. M. H. behauptet dagegen, Stobäus habe nichts weiter gethan, als bloß die gedachte Schrift [*scil.*, P] excerptirt; aber er besass ein vollständigeres Exemplar davon; denn das, was wir jetzt haben, ist vom siebenten Kapitel [i.e. from p. 67.5 Mau onwards] des ersten Buchs an¹³⁹ ein blosses Excerptenbuch von einem anderen Gelehrten. Da die darinn vorkommenden

¹³⁶ On him see Bursian (1883) 645ff., Sandys (1903–8) 3.77.

¹³⁷ Abstract at *Göttingische Anzeigen in gelehrten Sachen*, 115. Stück, Den 23. Jul. 1785, 1145ff. A reference to Heeren's announcement is to be found in Beck (1787) xxiv n. On Heyne see Schindel (1990). Heeren was Heyne's pupil, son-in-law and biographer, as Sandys *loc. cit.* informs us.

¹³⁸ This ms. seems to be the one Patrizi sold; see above, n. 99. Cf. also the *Gött. Anz.* 1787, 186. Stück, 1857f., where a further report on Heeren's work on the mss. is to be found.

¹³⁹ For this important distinction see further below.

Namen von alten Schriftstellern bereits von Corsini¹⁴⁰ in seiner Ausgabe des Plutarchischen Werks aufgesucht und erläutert sind, so hat sich der Hr. M. H. nur mit denen beschäftigt, die aus dem vollständigerem Exemplar im Stobäus hinzugekommen: Philippus von Opus, ein Schüler Plato's; Euryphon der Arzt; Diodorus Cronus, und Diodorus von Tyrus; Diotimus von Tyrus; Epidectus;¹⁴¹ Ion; Antiphon.

This argument (a revision of that of Canter and Corsini, who had also argued that S had excerpted P) is repeated at greater length in the 'Commentatio de fontibus Eclogarum Ioannis Stobaei'.¹⁴² P 1.1–7 (the beginning) seems to offer a complete text, including the author's *own criticisms* of some of the views he reports.¹⁴³ From after the middle of 1.7 on, however, we have a series of meagre excerpts made by someone else. However S did not excerpt the P we have, but an 'opus [...] longe plenius'.¹⁴⁴

We saw that in Heyne's communication of Heeren's view published in 1785 this distinction between P 1.1–7 (67.4 Mau) and the rest of the work was already an important issue. Furthermore, the more complete evaluation of the differences involved we have cited from Heeren's earlier communication is virtually the same as that to be found in a review of Beck's edition published in 1788,¹⁴⁵ three years after Heeren. The identity of the author of this lengthy and learned review has long been a mystery. Both Volkmann and Diels refer to the review without being able to indicate who the writer is. We believe that he can be identified with a fair degree of confidence with Ruhnkenius, Professor of Latin in Leiden from 1761 to 1798.¹⁴⁶ There are at least two strong

¹⁴⁰ Corsini (1750). Heeren had studied this edition.

¹⁴¹ I. e. the mysterious 'Επίδικος, Aët. 2.4.4 Diels.

¹⁴² Heeren (1792–1801) 4.139 (cited by Diels (1875) 173, 160f.).

¹⁴³ Heeren failed to notice the similar criticism at P 4.19.3, a lemma preserved by P only. But his insight that criticism of the views that are cited was one of the objectives in the original source is invaluable.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 161. Wachsmuth (1871a) 73 n. 2 writes: 'cuius [scil., P's] de placitis philosophorum librum Pseudo-Galenus in historia philosopha solum exscripsit, ut post Heerenum *de fontibus eclog.* § 11 p. 162 Dilesius [i.e. Diels (1870)] demonstravit'. This is false, for the Plutarch excerpted by G of which Heeren speaks on the page cited by Wachsmuth is the common source of P and S.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. above, n. 126, Diels *DG* 57 n. 1, Volkmann (1869) 1.161. Weissenberger (1896) 44, seems to ascribe this review to Beck himself. Both Volkmann and Diels state that this reviewer is the first to make this point. The passage quoted is at p. 100f. The review has not been included in Ruhnkenius (1823).

¹⁴⁶ On David Ruhnkenius (1723–1798), born in Bedlin, Pomerania, see

arguments in favour of the identification. Firstly the reviewer signs himself as Rn. Secondly there were very close contacts between Leiden and Göttingen. Ruhnken was offered the chair of Greek in Göttingen, but declined, suggesting the name of Heyne, who was Heeren's father-in-law.¹⁴⁷ We quote the following section from his important review (our italics):¹⁴⁸

Wenn man nähmlich die 7 ersten Capitel dieses Werks [*scil.*, of P's *Placita*] mit den folgenden vergleicht, so findet man zwischen diesen einen solchen Abstand, daß man auf einmal ein anderes Buch aufgeschlagen zu haben scheint. In jenen, vorzüglich in dem dritten [*scil.*, 1.3], Vollständigkeit, chronologische Ordnung, *ja selbst eigenes Urtheil*, in diesen [...] statt dessen bloß flüchtig hingeworfene Sätze, bey denen sich der V(erfasser) kaum scheint zum Schreiben Zeit gelassen zu haben; ohne Ordnung und ohne Zusammenhang. Was ist daher wahrscheinlicher, als daß wir die ersten Capitel dieses Buchs, wenngleich nicht ganz vollständig, doch große Stücke aus ihnen noch so besitzen, wie sie der erste Verf. geschrieben hat. Es scheint der Compiler war Willens das Werk ganz abzuschreiben, aber bey dem 7ten Capitel [from p. 67.5 Mau] ging ihm die Gedult aus; er fing an zu excerpieren, und excerpirte sichtbar immer elender, immer mehr ohne Plan und Ordnung, je tiefer er hineinkam.¹⁴⁹ Aus diesen Capiteln also, und vorzüglich aus dem 3ten, können wir mit Recht auf den Werth, Plan und Ausführung des alten Werks schließen, und mit Bedauern sehen, wieviel wir daran verloren haben. Der Verfasser desselben ging die Meinungen der alten Philosophen, über die Gegenstände der Physik nach den Secten, durch; fing mit Thales und seinen Nachfolgern an, kam dann auf die Pythagoräer, ferner auf den Heraklit, Democrit und seinen Schüler Epicur; und zuletzt auf die Socratische Schule und ihre Zweige.¹⁵⁰ *Auch führte er nicht bloß die Meinungen der Philosophen an, sondern beurtheilte sie auch, wie man aus eben diesem Capitel zur Genüge sieht.* Das 4te Capitel ist wiederum kein bloßes Excerpt, sondern eine wörtliche Abschrift eines Theils des ganzen Capitels, und eben so die übrigen 7 ersten Capitel. Wenn man nun das ganze alte Werk nach diesen uns daraus erhaltenen Stücken beurtheilt, so war es

Müller (1869) 82f., 84ff., Sandys (1903–8) 2.456ff., Wilamowitz (1927) 39f., Engl. transl. 88ff., Hulshoff Pol (1953). F. A. Wolf addressed his famous *Prolegomena to Homer to Davidi Ruhnkenio Principi Criticorum*. Ruhnkenius was as much if not more a Greek than a Latin scholar. Wilamowitz writes that 'he made numerous discoveries, without putting them to use' and adopts a somewhat ironical tone in describing his achievements.

¹⁴⁷ See above, n. 137.

¹⁴⁸ R(uhnke)n (1788) 100f.

¹⁴⁹ R(uhnke)n has failed to notice the scope and structure of the *Placita*.

¹⁵⁰ This in fact entails that the original source is believed to be related to the Περί αἰρέσεων and Διαδοχαί literature.

auf keine Weise des Plutarchs unwürdig. Es war eine Geschichte der Physik nach den Materien abgetheilt, und mit eignem Râsonnement durchflochten. Jünger wie Plutarch war es sicher nicht, denn selbst in den vollständigen Excerpten des Stobäus, die daraus genommen sind, wird kein Weltweiser genannt, der jünger wie Plutarch wäre; doch kann es auch nicht viel älter seyn, weil des Posidonius darin Erwähnung geschieht.

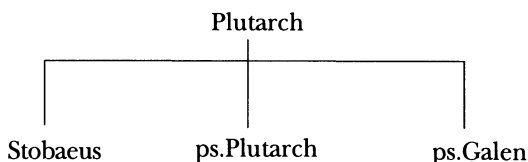
This reference to Posidonius for the *t.p.q.* anticipates Diels' argument for the date of the *Vetusta Placita*.

In the 'Commentatio' of 1801 Heeren does not doubt that almost everything about physics we read in Stobaeus *Eclogae physicae*—apart from the verbatim quotations which derive from a different class of sources—has been excerpted from such a more complete [ps.]Plutarch. We must observe that he clearly includes the longer lemmata dealing with physics which Diels was to attribute to AD, for the series of Stobaeian lemmata which are lacking in P but which are not attributed to AD by Diels are as a rule not more extensive than those in P (indeed quite often shorter). To prove the point that P from I 7 p. 67.5 Mau onwards is an excerpt, Heeren adduces G as a parallel:¹⁵¹

Quanta autem fuerit grammaticorum in hoc Plutarchi opere exscribendo et compilando licentia, optime docet Historia illa philosophica, quae sub Galeni nomine hodie circumfertur [...]. Descripta est illa tantum non integra ex Plutarchi libro, verum ita ut scriptor alia plane omitteret, pauca integra daret.

We may convert this analysis into the following (simplified) stemma:

¹⁵¹ Heeren (1792–1801) 4.162. Compare R(uhnke)n (cf. above, text to n. 146) 102f.: 'Die auffallende Ähnlichkeit, die sich zwischen unserm Werke [P], dem des Galens, und dem des Stobäus findet, darf uns nicht wundern. Alle 3 waren Excerpte aus demselben Werke, von verschiedenen Grammatikern, aber wahrscheinlich nur von jedem zum Privatgebrauche, gemacht. Ein anderer kam darüber, schmierte sie ab, weil sie weniger Mühe machten als das große Werk, und so wurden sie erhalten. Natürlich also mußten sie sich zu gleicher Zeit sehr unähnlich und sehr ähnlich seyn, etwa wie mehrere Hefte eines und desselben Collegii. [...] Unser Werk [P] hatte besonders das Unglück, einem der elendsten Compileren in die Hände zu fallen. Er excerptirte nicht nur ohne Plan und Ordnung was ihm vor die Hand kam, sondern verrückte sogar die Ordnung der Capitel. Dieß zeigt wiederum die Vergleichung mit dem Stobäus, und besonders der Anfang des 3ten [*sic*] Buchs, wo sich mitten in die Psychologie ein Abschnitt über das Wachsen des Nils verirrt hat'. It is clear that R(uhnke)n knew his Stobaeus well.



We note the resemblance with part of Diels' Aëtius hypothesis: a richer source—which for the sake of convenience we may call 'Plutarch'—has been excerpted by both S, P (from p. 67.5 Mau onwards, because what comes before is much fuller) and G.

Between the years of publication of the two parts of Heeren's Stobaeus Wilhelm Gottlieb Tennemann (1761–1819) published his influential *Geschichte der Philosophie*.¹⁵² He mentions in one breath 'Diogenes Laertius, das Werk de placitis philosophorum, das dem Plutarch beigelegt wird, und eine ähnliche Sammlung von Galenus, Stobäus, und andere hieher gehörige Werke'.¹⁵³ These works, he argues¹⁵⁴

enthalten freilich viele wichtige Materialien; nur ist das zu bedauern, daß ihr sicherer Gebrauch durch den Mangel an Auswahl, kritischen und philosophischen Geiste sosehr erschweret wird. Ein Verzeichniß von falschen, entstellten oder zweifelhaften Daten läßt sich bei jedem derselben leicht in ziemlicher Ausmaß sammeln. Man muß daher bei jeder Angabe, die nicht auf sichere Zeugnisse sich gründet, mißtrauisch seyn, zumal da die Gewährsmänner theils gar nicht angegeben sind, theils ihre historische Treue nicht immer nach einem sicheren Maaßstabe bestimmt werden kann. Ueberhaupt wäre ein Repertorium zu wünschen, worin theils die aufbehaltenen Fragmente, theils die von diesen verschiedenen Schriftstellern angeführten Behauptungen und Meinungen vollständig gesammelt und geordnet wären, und dieses würde nicht nur für die Geschichte selbst von großer Erleichterung seyn, sondern auch dazu dienen, die Glaubwürdigkeit der Schriftsteller genauer zu bestimmen.

Tennemann, in a way, is the prophet of a new age;¹⁵⁵ there is a

¹⁵² Tennemann (1798–1819); on this scholar see Liebmann (1894), Braun (1973) 241ff. Zeller (1843) 9ff. recognized his importance. Brandis (1835–65) Bd. 1 (1835) 24, 37, is no advance because entirely dependent on Heeren and Beck; P G S are said to derive from an earlier common source.

¹⁵³ Vol. 1 p. 24.

¹⁵⁴ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁵⁵ A few years earlier another historian, Tiedemann (1791–97) 1.xxvif., had argued—in a way comparable to that of Xylander and Fabricius—that 'Gewährsmänner' such as Plato, Aristotle and Simplicius, and the fragments of the early philosophers themselves are to be preferred to [ps.]Plu-

world of difference between this attitude and that of the learned and industrious Brucker, or even that of the great Bacon. His wish was to be fulfilled by those who would compile the great collections of fragments-and-testimonia that have been published in the 19th and 20th centuries. What he could not foresee is that the 'Glaubwürdigkeit der Schriftsteller' would be determined by a reconstruction of the ancient historiographical traditions *via ac ratione*, i.e. by means of stemmata and a distinction of genres. But his note of caution is still valid.

8. *Meineke and Volkmann*

A seminal impulse was given to the study of the *Placita* when Meineke, the fourth editor of Stobaeus' *Eclogae* after Canter, Heeren and Gaisford (Oxford 1850), published an important *Miscelle* of a mere three pages.¹⁵⁶ Here he argued—as Heeren to a large extent already had done before him¹⁵⁷—that the whole

tarch, S and ps.Origen (i.e. Hippolytus).

¹⁵⁶ Meineke (1859); cf. Diels (1870) 3 and 12, *DG* 69ff.; Wachsmuth (1884) *ad* 1.37.16. Cf. also Moraux (1973–84) 1.260ff., and Kahn (1983). On Johannes Albert Friedrich August Meineke (1790–1870), a Pforte old boy just as Wilamowitz and Nietzsche and a pupil of Hermann, rector of the Joachimsthalische Gymnasium at Berlin 1826–57 and a member of the Berlin Academy from 1830, editor of numerous authors and perhaps most famous for his edition of the *Fragmenta comicorum graecorum* in 5 vols. (Leipzig 1839–57) see his pupil Förstemann (1885); Ranke (1871); Sauppe (1871); Haupt (1876); Bursian (1883) 764ff., and Wilamowitz (1927) 51 (Engl. transl. 113). We owe most of these references to Dr L. F. Janssen.

¹⁵⁷ Meineke surprisingly fails to refer to his predecessor, cf. Göransson (1995) 207 n. 1. Heeren (1792–1801) at 4.191f. adduces the passage in the *Flor.*: 'Nam quae in *Florileg.* leguntur l. c. ex adumbratione philosophiae Peripateticae [*scil.*, in the *Ecl.*] desumta esse dubitari prorsus nequit Commemorare ibi non potui in notis, incidi enim demum in hunc florilegii locum, cum *Eclogae ipsae typis iam expressae essent*, orta autem est inde apud me suspicio, *maximam adhuc libri Didymi de sectis partem sine nomine libri et auctoris in cap. VII Eclogarum Ethicarum* [i.e., Stob. 2.7], in quo diversarum scholarum systemata Ethica copiose exponantur, nobis superesse. Nam cum integer locus, qui in *Florileg.* l. c. exstat, in media philosophiae peripateticae quam Stob. nobis exhibuit, expositione occurrat, probabile utique videri debet, *omnem hanc de philosophia Aristotelicorum Ethicorum sectionem, quam sub ipsius Stobaei nomine legimus, ex Didymi libro esse petitam*, cum vix verisimile videatur, eum locum supra citatum mediae disputationi inseruisse. Quod si concesseris, vix quoque dubitaverim *philosophiae quoque Stoicae adumbrationem*, (nam in *Academica ipse [scil., Stobaeus] auctores quos secutus est nominavit ex eodem hoc fonte profluxisse*. Cum enim Didymus sectas inter se conferret, Stoicam philosophiam negligere plane non potuit; sed in hoc ipso potius operam collocasse videtur, in quo Ciceronem iam sibi praeuentem habuit, ut nempe hanc cum

ethical doxography to be found in the second book of the *Eclogae* of S is to be attributed to a certain Didymus, because a short passage from the section dealing with the Peripatetics is quoted in Stobaeus' *Florilegium* (3.918.5 ff.) as being ἐκ τῆς Διδύμου Ἐπιτομῆς.

But Meineke went much further. He pointed out, and was the first to do so, that a passage concerned with Plato's theory of Forms at Eusebius, *PE* 11.23.3–6, who says it derives ἐκ τῶν Διδύμῳ Περί τῶν ἀρεσκόντων Πλάτωνι συντεταγμένων, is also to be found, without the name of its author, at Stob. *Ecl.* 1.12.2^a.¹⁵⁸ Accordingly, also Stobaeus used Didymus, at least in one case viz. for a doctrine of Plato, and Didymus according to Eusebius' descriptive note treated Plato's *placita* in general, not merely his ethical doctrines. Next Meineke pointed out that Eusebius has preserved two further explicitly attributed series of quotations from this author, viz. *PE* 15.15.1–9 dealing with Stoic theology and cosmology (= AD fr. 29 Diels), and 15.20.2–9, dealing with the Stoic doctrine of the soul (= AD fr. 39 Diels).¹⁵⁹ Here according to Meineke Eusebius gives us his full name: Arius Didymus, and provides the same title as Stobaeus in the *Florilegium* (see above), viz. Ἐπιτομή (the second time in the form Ἐπιτομαί). Meineke concluded that Arius Didymus, whom at the time he was not able to identify as a person,¹⁶⁰

Peripateticorum placitis conferret' (our italics). The difference between Heeren and Meineke is that the former attributes the introductory section to Stobaeus himself, or rather to Philo of Larissa and Eudorus who are mentioned as the sources used. Heeren's insight that Arius Didymus' method is to be compared to that of Cicero is noteworthy. The attribution of the introductory section to Arius Didymus is rejected by Göransson (1995) 221ff.

¹⁵⁸ See AD fr. 1 Diels, *DG* 447, left column, and Wachsmuth (1884) 1.135.19–136.13. Göransson (1995) 205, 218, accepts that S here provides an excerpt from AD. Eusebius, who has more text at the beginning and the end of this passage (cf. Göransson (1995) 197 n. 2), presumably gives a rough indication of the contents of one of its parts rather than the title of the work. S clearly abridges AD's text here, so the differences between S's excerpt, *Ecl.* 1.20.1^c, and the text as preserved by Eus. *PE* 15.18.3 (AD fr. 36 Diels), emphasized by Göransson 218f., are best explained as another example of abridgement by Stobaeus (he left out the last part because it did not belong with the topic of his chapter). See further below, Ch. 4, p. 261f.

¹⁵⁹ Jonsius (1659) 214ff., who attempts to distinguish the various Arii (see above, n. 106), had already discussed the three Eusebian passages, attributing them to Arius Didymus. Cf. e.g. also Krische (1840) 424ff. on *PE* 15.15. See further next n., *ad fin.*

¹⁶⁰ But he soon made an identification, see below, n. 164. Heeren (1792–1801) 4.189ff. attributes the work on the sects to the Didymus who wrote on Pythagorean philosophy (he cites Porphyry *In Ptolem.* 25.3ff. Düring [cf. also *ibid.*, 5.12, 107.15], and Clem. *Strom.* 1.80.4, cf. below, n. 162), but unlike

wrote—in a more or less systematic way—not only about ethics but also about physics (and so, we may perhaps believe, about epistemology and logic too),¹⁶¹ and dealt not only with Aristotle and his followers and the Stoics, but also with Plato and his followers.

Adducing two passages from Clement (one of which had already been cited by Jonsius and Heeren) and another one from Stobaeus (discussed by Heeren too), Meineke further argued that (Arius) Didymus' work included the Seven Sages and the Presocratics. Though one cannot prove that Meineke is wrong, the only passage among these three that has been confidently attributed to Didymus by subsequent scholars¹⁶² is Stob. *Ecl.* 2.1.17, Διδύμου ἐκ τοῦ Περί αἰρέσεων. The only Presocratic to be mentioned here is Xenophanes, the other names being Epicurus, the Stoics, Socrates, and Pyrrho.¹⁶³ Xenophanes, we must point out, here figures as a proto-Skeptic.

Having established to his own satisfaction that (Arius) Didymus

Meineke, who attributes everything to a single treatise, he believes that Didymus wrote two different works, viz. one *On Sects* (to which he gives the title Ἐπιτομή περὶ αἰρέσεων) and another *On Pythagorean Philosophy*. Jonsius (1659) 214ff. had argued that the Didymus cited at Clem. 1.80.4 is AD. Jonsius also argued that at *Suda*, Δ 871, 2.80.30f. Adler (Δίδυμος, Ἀτήϊος ἢ Ἄττιος χρηματίας, φιλόσοφος Ἀκαδημαϊκός. Πιθανῶν καὶ σοφισμάτων λύσεις ἐν βιβλίοις β'. καὶ ἄλλα πολλά), Ἀτήϊος is a mistake for Ἀρείος. Diels *DG* 86 argues that this Didymus is not AD, because he is an Academic while AD is a Stoic, which of course begs the question. See further below Ch. 4, n. 132.

¹⁶¹ In fact the passage cited below, n. 163 and text thereto, is concerned with knowledge. Kahn (1983) 5 argues that AD fr. 1 Diels (on Plato's Ideas) is concerned with logic rather than physics, but this is contestable.

¹⁶² See below, n. 190 on Volkman (1871) and Diels *DG* 79, who following Schmidt (1854) argue that the Didymus who wrote on the Pythagoreans is a different person. The two passages in Clement are *Strom.* 1.62.1–2 (Didymus attributed μηδὲν ἄγαν to Solon, μέτρον ἄριστον to Cleoboulos and ἐγγύα πάρα δ' ἄτα to Thales) and *Strom.* 1.80.4 (Δίδυμος δ' ἐν τῷ Περί πυθαγορικῆς φιλοσοφίας on Theano as the first lady philosopher and the author of poetical works; cited by Heeren (1792–1801) 4.191).

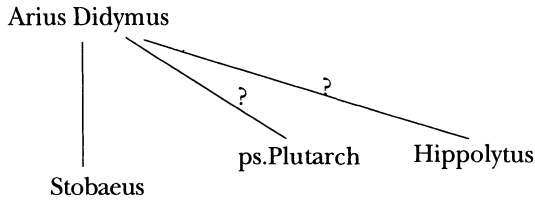
¹⁶³ The topic is philosophy and the further question whether or not the goal of philosophy, viz. the truth, can be or has been reached. On this head the philosophers disagree; Epicurus and the Stoics have no doubt, whereas Xenophanes, Socrates and Pyrrho say that wisdom is not for men but for the gods (the lemma as reconstructed in Wachsmuth seems to us to be on the right track). Diels, who *DG* 78f. accepts the fragment as genuine and attributes it to the proem, naturally did not include this paragraph in his collection of the *physical* fragments of AD. The passage is discussed by Heeren (1792–1801) 4.189ff.

dealt with the ethical and physical doctrines of the major Classical and Hellenistic schools as well as with those of the Presocratics, Meineke jumped to an important and novel conclusion:¹⁶⁴

Dieses sowohl, wie die oben berührte Thatsache, dass Stobaeus keinen Artikel über griechische Philosophie selbst verfasst hat, dürfte meines Erachtens hinreichend die Vermuthung begründen, dass ein grosser Theil der namenlose Excerpte bei Stobaeus über hellenische Philosophie und Philosophen auf dasselbe werk des Didymus zurückzuführen sei. [...] Reicher ist die Ausbeute in den *Eclogis physicis* [...]. Wenn es ferner wahrscheinlich ist, was ich aus manchen Andeutungen zu schliessen mich für berechtigt halte, dass Didymus seine Relation über die Urheber der verschiedenen Philosophen-Systeme mit einer kurzen Angabe ihres Vaterlandes und Vaternamens begann, so wird man nicht irren, wenn man unter andern alles was *Ecl. ph. I, 12 u. f.* über Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Pythagoras u. a. mitgetheilt wird, aus demselben Werke herleitet. Uebrigens scheint ausser Stobaeus auch Hippolytus in dem *Ἐλεγχος κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων*, und vielleicht auch der Verfasser der Pseudo-Plutarchischen Schrift *περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις* das Werk des Didymus benutzt zu haben.

We may picture this construction by means of the following stemma:

¹⁶⁴ Meineke (1859) 565. Cf. Meineke (1860–4) 2.clivf. ('Adnotatio critica ad librum II'): 'Αἰδύμου] Huius enim nomen supplendum esse ostendi in Mützelli Zeitschrift f. d. Gymnasialwesen a. 1859, Vol. XIII, p. 563-65. Ducta autem est haec tota de morali Stoicorum et Peripateticorum doctrina disputatio ex satis amplo opere, quo Didymus Areus totam Graecorum philosophiam explicuerat; ex eodem pleraque derivasse Stobaeum, quae passim de philosophorum graecorum decretis auctorum nominibus omissis in medium protulit, haud vana opinor coniectura est quam l. l. proposui. Vixit autem Didymus Areus temporibus imperatoris Augusti, quem eo praeceptore usum esse constat e Suetonio V. Aug. 89. et Dione Cass. LII, 36.' Meineke's identification of (Arius) Didymus with Arius the court philosopher of Augustus was accepted by Zeller *PhdGr* (1856-68²) 3.545 n. 2 (this vol. published in 1865), but rejected by Heine (1869) 613f., who rightly pointed out that in the sources Augustus' Stoic companion is always called Arius, never Arius Didymus. The classicist Otto Heine (1832-1906) became *rector gymnasii* at Breslau in 1870. The identification is now again rejected on the same grounds by Göransson (1995) 208ff. Zeller in the next printing of this vol. of the *PhdGr* (1880b) 3.614f. n. 2 was aware of the facts, but still rejected Heine's argument and supported that of Diels (*DG* 86f., who also tried to answer Heine) in favour of the identification. To avoid prejudging the issue in the present chapter we occasionally put Arius before Didymus between round brackets, thus: (Arius) Didymus. See further below, Ch. 4, p. 238ff.



There are several outstanding aspects to Meineke's hypothesis, however mistaken he may have been in deriving the majority of the philosophical abstracts in S which are not quoted from the original works of the philosophers from AD. The first of these is that at any rate *one* substantial passage in S which has *no* counterpart in P (or in G) must be ascribed to AD by means of the parallel in Eusebius.¹⁶⁵ At the very least this entails that *other* such passages in S which have no counterpart elsewhere may derive from the same source. Other scholars, as we have noticed, had argued on various grounds that S, because of the extras which are not paralleled in P or G, used a richer source which was also used, in a less generous way, by either P or G or both, some scholars having suggested that this source was a book by Plutarch of Chaeronea, others that it was by another person also called Plutarch. Meineke is able to introduce a *new name*, viz. (Arius) Didymus, and to provide arguments in favour of his assumption by adducing existing remains of this author which tell us much about the nature and contents of his lost work. This is the second important aspect of his hypothesis; the source is not postulated out of the blue.

The third important part is what he says about Hippolytus and P, though he is tantalizingly brief about both. We may perhaps allow ourselves a civilized guess. He had of course noticed that the structure of Hipp. *Ref.* book I is much different from that of both P and S, because Hippolytus discusses individual philosophers and individual schools,¹⁶⁶ not systematic topics. What can be safely attributed to Arius Didymus because of the excerpts dealing with physics bearing his name preserved by Eusebius is somewhat

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Diels, *DG* 73: 'sed tamen sic erravit Meineke ut viri subacti ingenii errare solent, non sine magno ad veri cognitionem emolumento. nam verissime vidit etiam in physicis Stobaei eclogis Arianæ originis aliquantum insertum esse. quantum lateret quibusque indiciis ea ab Aëtii Placitis discernenda essent, non vidit'.

¹⁶⁶ R(uhnke)n in his review of Beck attributed such a structure to the source excerpted by P, see above, text to n. 150.

similar in character to what is in Hippolytus. Accordingly, there is some likelihood to the suggestion that Hippolytus used the richer source, i.e. Meineke's Arius Didymus. Diels (following up an insight of Usener's) was to substitute another such richer source for Hippolytus belonging to the same tradition,¹⁶⁷ but the main idea is already in the *Miscelle*.

Surprisingly, Meineke is hesitant about P's dependence on Arius Didymus; he rather whimsically seems to brush aside a quite long and strong tradition in scholarship, starting as we have seen with Canter and continued by Corsini, Beck and Heeren, which had diligently inquired into the common ground shared by S and P. It is also quite surprising that G is left out. Nevertheless we should conclude that, in the historiography of the historiography of Greek philosophy the contribution of Meineke represents a watershed. Meineke firmly put (Arius) Didymus on the map, and so prepared the ground for Diels' improved assessment of the sources of Stobaeus.

Meineke's novel hypothesis was put in a larger perspective by Volkmann in his comprehensive study on Plutarch's life, writings and philosophy.¹⁶⁸ He refers to Vossius (1623), Jonsius (1659) and especially Beck (1787).¹⁶⁹ The *Placita* is not by Plutarch of Chaeronea (as Vossius and Jonsius thought); nor was Beck correct in supposing that, together with G and numerous passages in S, it has been excerpted from a lost work by Plutarch figuring in the Lamprias catalogue (one notices that Volkmann fails to refer to Heeren). He rejects the ascription of this common source to

¹⁶⁷ DG 147ff., 'doxographi cuiusdam epitome' ultimately deriving from Theophrastus, i.e. the *Vetusta Placita*.

¹⁶⁸ Volkmann (1869) 1.154ff.; for Diels' argument contra in the dissertation of 1870 see above, n. 50. On Richard Volkmann (1832–1892), rector gymnasii in Jauer (Silesia) from 1865 see Bursian (1883) 916f. and the very interesting biography and impressive list of published works by his son, Volkmann (1892). We owe this reference to Dr L. F. Janssen. His most famous work is the still useful *Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer in systematischer Übersicht dargestellt* (Berlin 1872, ²1874; revised ed. Leipzig 1885, repr. Hildesheim 1963, 1987). His *Teubneriana* of Plotinus together with Porphyry's *Life* (Leipzig 1883–84) was dedicated to Cobet, whose letter of thanks is published by the son, W. Volkmann (1892) 97f. The beginning of this letter is worth quoting: 'Lubens et gratus accipio tuae erga me benevolentiae testimonium praesertim si me parcius laudare volueris. Sumus enim in Hollandia homines simplices et sine fuco et ὑπὸ τῷ εἶρωσι, quam ob rem in omni re modum servare studemus.'

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Ziegler (1951) 879.

Plutarch but states that the assumption that such a source must be posited is 'von grosser Wichtigkeit'.¹⁷⁰ He then at length discusses Meineke's arguments and accepts his main thesis. But Meineke had omitted to mention G and had said that Hippolytus probably and P possibly had excerpted AD as well. Volkmann affirms that Hippolytus should be excluded,¹⁷¹ but that P on the other hand must certainly be included because Meineke's doubts are entirely unjustified.¹⁷²

Die Referate in Stobäus' Eclogen stimmen nicht blos in der ganzen Anlage, sondern auch in den Capitelüberschriften und im Inhalt so vollständig und wörtlich mit den *Placita philosophorum* überein, dass man sieht, beide Autoren schreiben ein und dieselbe Quelle ab.

Next Volkmann at some length discusses the differences between *Plac.* 1.1–7 and the rest of the work.¹⁷³ The first seven chapters are said to be rather full but without 'inneren Zusammenhang'. Halfway through *Plac.* 1.7 (i.e. at p. 67.5 Mau), however, there is an important change.¹⁷⁴

Wir haben [...] nicht das Originalwerk eines Schriftstellers vor uns, sondern [viz., in 1.1–7] willkürliche excerptirte Bruchstücke aus einem solchen, in denen Relationen fremder Ansichten *und die Kritik derselben* bunt durcheinander laufen. Von der Mitte des siebenten Capitels an gewinnt aber die Schrift mit einem Male ein *anderes* Aussehen. *Alles selbständige Urtheil und Råsonnement des Autors hört auf*,¹⁷⁵ wir erhalten nur noch eine kurze Angabe dessen, was die einzelnen Philosophen über die verschiedenen Lehren der Physik für Ansichten gehabt haben.

Volkmann then quotes at length, and endorses, the arguments of R(uhnke)n.¹⁷⁶ He adds that the difference between these two parts of the *Plac.* is also clear from the relation of this treatise to Stobaeus. There is nothing in S corresponding to P's preface and to chapters 1, 4, 6 and the first half of 7 in book I i.e. to those chapters which contain the personal views of the (original) author. But

¹⁷⁰ Volkmann (1869) 1.154.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.* 159f. No argument provided.

¹⁷² *Ibid.* 159.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* 160f.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 161; our italics.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. above, quotation after n. 148.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 162f. (Volkmann modernizes the spelling and omits a few words). See above, quotation after n. 148.

from p. 67.5 Mau onwards there is substantial agreement between the two works, and this also holds for books II and III and the greater part of book IV of the *Plac.* as compared to what is in S. P therefore, just as S, must derive from Arius Didymus. Two questions remain: (1) what is the reason for the difference between the two parts of P, and (2), why is there so little in S which corresponds to P 1.1–7 (first section), that is to say why are the sections which reveal a personal point of view found in P only?

Volkman finds the answer to these questions by comparing what is in the source left out by Meineke, G.¹⁷⁷ He correctly and in adequate detail points out to what extent P and G are virtually identical, but insists on the major difference as to the first group of chapters in each case. In ch. 1¹⁷⁸ G says he wishes to provide an overview of the whole of philosophy, viz. physics ethics logic, combining what he has heard from his teachers with what he has culled from his reading. The second chapter¹⁷⁹ discusses the successions. The third chapter¹⁸⁰ briefly discusses the definition of philosophy, logic, the parts of philosophy, the sects, and why philosophy began. The fourth chapter¹⁸¹ briefly discusses propositions, syllogism, definition, the criterion, truth, division and apodeictic. At the beginning of chapter five¹⁸² the author tells us that he has been brief about logic because he has spoken more fully about it elsewhere and now wishes to proceed to physics. In the first sections of the account of physics there are differences as well as parallels with P, but as to the part of G corresponding to P books II–V (although some bits are missing and minor differences exist) one must conclude that ‘sich [...] beide Schriften gleichen wie ein Ei dem andern.’¹⁸³ He continues:¹⁸⁴

Im allgemeinen ist die Übereinstimmung so gross, dass unzweifelhaft die *Placita* (ausgenommen die ersten sieben Capitel) aus derselben Quelle, d.h. aus ein und demselben Auszug aus Areus Didymus geflossen sind.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 163ff. He refers to the text in Kühn.

¹⁷⁸ I.e. §1–2 in Diels' edition in the *DG*.

¹⁷⁹ I.e. §3 Diels.

¹⁸⁰ I.e. §4–8 Diels.

¹⁸¹ I.e. §9–16 Diels.

¹⁸² §17 Diels, *DG* 608.4–7.

¹⁸³ Volkman (1869) 1.166.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 167. Volkman's spelling of the name is taken over from Meineke.

Volkman now winds up his analysis. He argues that AD not only wrote a separate work on logic but also another work, in which logic was briefly discussed but physics and ethics were treated at length. This work contained what he had learned from his teachers, viz. an overview of Stoic philosophy, as well as what he had read about others, i.e. 'ein nützliches Compendium der Geschichte der Philosophie'. Already before the time of the Antonine emperors—Volkman refers to Athenagoras' use of such a compendium as the *t.a.q.*, thus anticipating one of Diels' arguments for dating Aëtius¹⁸⁵—various shorter versions ('handliche Auszüge') of this second work were fabricated. In his view we still possess three, or even four, such shorter versions of AD, viz.

- (1) the version copied, or even further abridged, by G, who stopped at the end of the physics (so the title is incorrect). '*Der Auszug des Galen lässt die ursprüngliche Beschaffenheit vom Werke des Didymus nach seiner ganzen Anlage erkennen*' (our italics);
- (2) the version used by S containing both the physics and the ethics; S provides 'die meisten und reichhaltigsten Excerpte';
- (3)–(4) 'irgendein dritter Compiler', viz. P, who (3) 'sich in seinen ersten Capiteln [...] am wenigsten vom Wortlaut und der Ausführlichkeit des Didymus (entfernt)', left out the historical introduction and the brief section on logic,

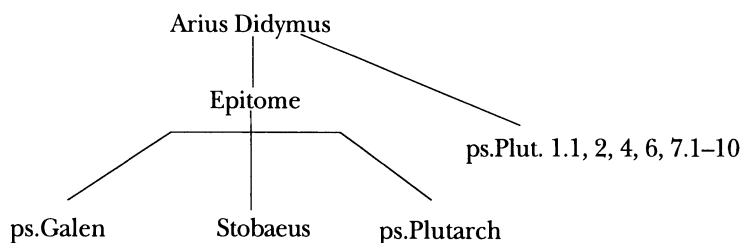
und wollte [(4)] bloß das auf die Physik bezügliche ausschreiben. Dazu musste er aber viel ändern und weglassen, und diese Arbeit wurde ihm gar bald zuviel. Daher begnügte er sich damit, aus den ersten Capiteln des Didymus einige längere Stücke abzuschreiben, dann aber verzichtete er auf alle Selbständigkeit des Excerptirens und schrieb einen bereits vorgefundenen, dem Pseudo-Galenischen ähnlichen Auszug wörtlich ab. So erklärt sich vielleicht einigermaßen die auffällige Verschiedenheit zwischen den sieben ersten Capiteln und den Rest der Placita.

Volkman in this context does not consider the explicitly attributed fragments preserved by Eusebius; presumably, he believes that these do not derive from an abridged version but are fragments of the original work. One has to point out that the title 'Επιτομή is not only found in the fragment of the ethical doxography preserved in the *Eclogae ethicae* which is repeated in Stobaeus'

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 167f.; cf. Diels *DG* 5, but Diels thinks the apologist draws on P, Volkman on the anterior source, i.e. A. Krische (1840) 39 n. 1 already believed that Athenagoras used the *Placita*, as is acknowledged by Diels *DG* 7.

Florilegium, but also in Eusebius (once in the singular and once in the plural, as we have seen above). In fact, the question which title for the work should be chosen from the alternatives that are available, and the related question that perhaps more than one such work may be at issue,¹⁸⁶ do not seem to bother him.

We may represent Volkmann's construction of 1869 by means of the following stemma (chapters in P according to Diels' numeration in the *DG*):



The big differences from Diels' final hypothesis in the *DG* are, as in Meineke but now with P and G included: (1) the identification of the common source as AD not A; (2) consequently, the attribution not only of the physical abstracts but also of the ethical doxography in S to the ultimate common source of G, P and S, S being the only source to have preserved the ethics; and (3) the assumption, which is new, that G, if supplemented with the ethics from S, provides the most adequate impression of the common source as a whole. Diels, for his part, shows only contempt for shoddy G. What is however clear is that Volkmann's argument is circular to a degree. The common source, viz. AD, turns out to be a kind of mosaic composed from the various ingredients of the abridgements which purportedly derive from it.

In a paper published a mere two years later Volkmann radically changed his mind and now rejected part of Meineke's hypothesis.¹⁸⁷ The ethical doxography in S and the physical fragments in Eusebius are still to be attributed to AD.¹⁸⁸ But AD cannot, *pace* Meineke, be the source of the physical abstracts in S which are comparable to P. In the first place, the topics concerned with Stoic

¹⁸⁶ See further below, Ch. 4, p. 241ff.

¹⁸⁷ Volkmann (1871).

¹⁸⁸ Volkmann (1871) 683f., 686.

physics treated in the Eusebian fragments are either (as in the case of AD fr. 29 Diels) not treated by P, G and S or, if they are (cf. AD fr. 39 Diels), they are handled in an entirely different way:

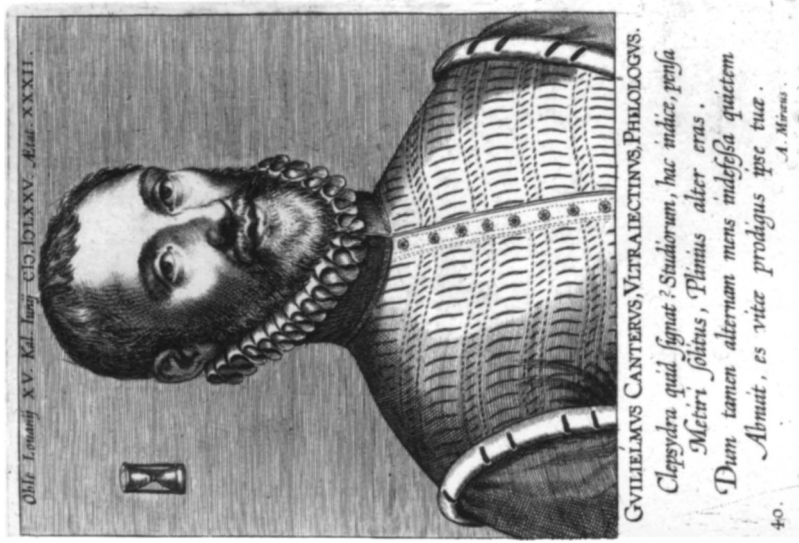
es sei gleich hier bemerkt, dasz nichts aus diesem Capitel [viz. from fr. 29] weder bei Plutarch noch bei Galenos noch bei Stobaeos sich findet. [...] auch von all dem hier mitgetheilten [viz. from fr. 39] findet sich nichts in den placita und deren parallelen, was um so bemerkenswerter ist, als dieselben materien in diesen schriften besprochen und auch die einschlagenden ansichten der stoiker mitgeteilt werden.¹⁸⁹

This important observation about the differences where one would expect similarity is entirely correct. Volkmann adds a second point, viz. that the passages of Clement adduced by Meineke should not be attributed to Arius Didymus. Following Moriz Schmidt he argues that the text about the Seven Sages (*Strom.* 1.62.1-2) and that about Theano (*ibid.*, 80.4) more probably derive from two different treatises composed by another Didymus who was a contemporary of Nero.¹⁹⁰ Thirdly, he now argues that the *Περὶ αἰρέσεων* quoted by Stobaeus is not to be identified with the *Ἐπιτομή* quoted by Eusebius and Stobaeus.¹⁹¹ His argument is interesting though probably false: the *Epitome* is a systematic work, but a treatise *On Sects* would not only have to be systematic but also historical (what Volkmann adds by way of description applies to the *Successions* literature). However this may be, also the fragment mentioning Xenophanes is now no longer attributed to a major treatise of Arius Didymus. Even the attribution to the *Epitome* of the passage about Plato's ἀρέσκοντα (AD fr. 1 Diels; with his name in Eusebius, anonymous in Stobaeus) is rejected, because it is not paralleled in either P or G. It follows that Meineke's attribution to Arius Didymus of the majority of the anonymous passages on physics in S must be rejected, and that

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 684.

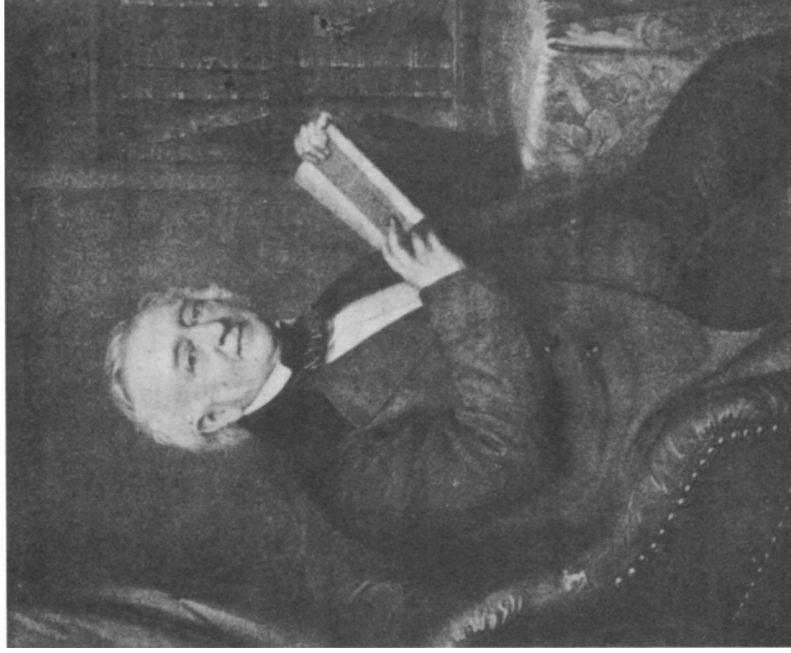
¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 684f.; see Schmidt (1854) 372ff., 380ff.; overlooked by Meineke. Cf. above, n. 160, n. 162. Volkmann's argument was accepted by Diels, *DG* 79. Kahn (1983) 12 n. 5 does not give an entirely correct report of (Volkmann's) and Diels' argument; their main point is that Clement provides a specific and different title as the source for the notice about Theano. The complicated question of the various titles of the various works attributed to the various Didymi in our view requires a fresh inquiry.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.* 685. He now refers to Heeren (1792–1801) 4.189ff., 'welcher den Irrtum Meinekes vielleicht mitverschuldet hat'.



3. Two editors of Stobaeus

- (a) Willem Canter (1542–75)
from AA. VV. (1603) no. 40
see text Ch. 1, p. 42



- (b) August Meineke (1790–1870)
from Sandys (1903–08) 3.116
see text Ch. 1, p. 49



4. Hermann Diels as a student at the time that he was working on his dissertation
illustration from Kern (1927), facing p. 24
from photo of the Bonn students' philological society 1869
see text Ch. 2, p. 66 & n. 13

also Volkmann's own previous revision of this hypothesis (which took in G and P) no longer holds good.¹⁹² The *Epitome* of Arius Didymus contained a section on physics, but¹⁹³

aus diesem abschnitt der epitome ist [...] das material der placita [*scil.*, P], des Galenos und Stobaeos n i c h t geflossen. denn die bei Eusebios erhaltenen bruchstücke [*scil.*, AD frs. 29 and 39 Diels] finden sich an den betreffenden stellen dieser autoren, wo die gleichen materialien behandelt worden; nicht vor, können auch niemals darin gestanden haben, eben weil sie daselbst durch eine andersartige behandlung der in frage kommenden puncte ersetzt sind. ein zweiter beweis dafür, dasz die placita und deren parallelen nichts mit der ἐπιτομή des Areios Didymos gemein haben können, liegt übrigens darin, dasz Eusebios in den letzten Büchern sowohl die epitome als Plutarchs placita in längeren Abschnitten citiert.

The observation that Eusebius quotes both P and AD, and that this entails that the former does not depend on the latter, is not good enough. Eusebius could have done what he did without noticing, or bothering about, a relation between the two works.

Volkmann continues¹⁹⁴ with a substantial comparison of the parallel sections in S, P and G; many among his observations concerning the details are of lasting value. He admits that 'die referate des Stobaeos in vielen puncten vollständiger sind als die entsprechenden abschnitte aus Plutarch und Galenos', but emphatically denies that S used 'das originalwerk, aus dem Plutarch und Galenos geschöpft haben'. His solution, based on his detailed analysis of the various extant sources, is different. S used a source (let us call it *S*) which made substantial *additions* to the source used by P and G. The extras in S therefore derive from the learned and well-read S. Furthermore, *S* included a passage on Plato's theory of Forms which is not paralleled in either P or Galen but is found in Eusebius who attributes it to AD. Accordingly, *S* used AD too, and so is to be dated later than Augustus' companion (note that Volkmann accepts the identification of the two Aarii).¹⁹⁵ Presumably, *S* too is later than G. G, in his turn, is a near contemporary of

¹⁹² *Ibid.* 685f. Volkmann 686 n. 1 adds a footnote, in which he says that he had already written his paper when he became acquainted with the rejection of Meineke's main hypothesis in Diels (1870).

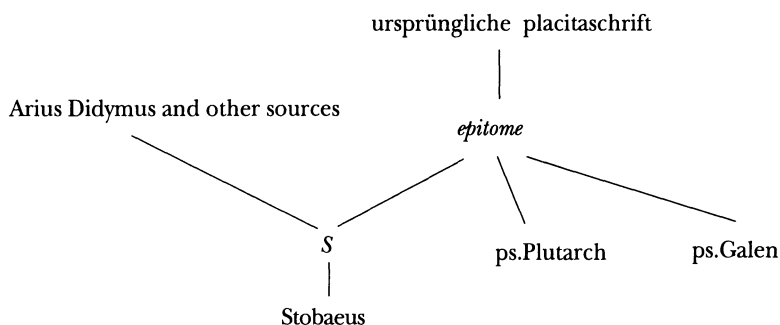
¹⁹³ *Ibid.* 686.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 687ff.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. above, n. 160 and n. 163.

Sextus Empiricus, because both used the same sources (viz. as to logic), unless one wishes to believe that G in his logical section excerpted Sextus which according to Volkmann is improbable.¹⁹⁶ S is therefore to be dated to ca. 180–240 CE. Perhaps S may even be identified as Porphyry; but Volkmann, though listing data which may direct us towards Porphyry, states that this identification is most uncertain and fortunately does not insist on it.

We may depict Volkmann's complicated hypothesis of 1871 by means of the following stemma (note that his introduction of an 'ursprüngliche placitaschrift' provides a parallel for and perhaps even an anticipation of Usener's and Diels' hypothesis concerned with the *Vetusta placita*):¹⁹⁷



Volkmann attributes to S what Stobaeus in fact did,¹⁹⁸ and even a bit more; S, he argues:¹⁹⁹

änderte vielfach die reihenfolge der capitel und zog kürzere capitel in eins zusammen, wobei immerhin die ursprünglichen capitelüberschriften mehrfach als specialüberschriften einzelner capitelteile beibehalten wurden. er nahm den vorhandenen text meist wörtlich und unverändert in seine arbeit auf, berichtigte ihn jedoch, wo es ihm nötig schien. ausserdem fügte er die über-

¹⁹⁶ Diels (1870) 10ff. had argued that G used Sextus. Volkmann (1873) 16ff. returned to this issue in a brief note, arguing (1) that the differences between Sextus and G are as significant as what they have in common, and (2) that G used his own (lost) more extensive work on logic, and that both this work and Sextus depend on a common source, or tradition. Diels *DG* 246ff. looked at the matter again and for the most part agreed with Volkmann's argument. See further below, Ch. 3, p. 142ff.

¹⁹⁷ See above, § 1.1; note however that the idea may also be indebted to the theme of the Bonn prize contest.

¹⁹⁸ See below, Ch. 4, p. 265ff.

¹⁹⁹ Volkmann (1871) 704.

gangenen ansichten älterer und späterer, oft sehr entlegener philosophen dazu.²⁰⁰ durchgreifende änderungen und erweiterungen nahm er jedoch meistens in den artikeln vor, die sich auf Platon und Aristoteles bezogen, auch gieng er jedesmal sehr ausführlich auf die ansichten der hauptstoiker ein, denen immer ziemlich umfangreiche referate gewidmet sind.²⁰¹ Epikuros und seine schule vernachlässigte er grundsätzlich.

One year later, Diels in the same journal curtly rejected the S-hypothesis.²⁰² But it should be recognized that Volkmann's detailed inquiry must have been quite helpful. His analysis is the first on record which does not limit itself to comparing the verbal parallels between the extant sources but which also insists on the important *differences* between them, and looks at these from the point of view of the composition of each single work. In this way the extras in S as compared with P/G are placed in the limelight. The one major difference between Volkmann's analysis of 1871 and that of Diels of 1876/1879—that the latter has most of G derive from a slightly fuller version of P seems to be less important—is that Diels attributes these extras in part to AD (thus accommodating the original Meineke & Volkmann hypothesis) and in part to the original *epitome*, ascribed by him to Aëtius, which was abridged by P. In other words, what remained to be done was to share out the extras in S between A and AD, and this is what Diels did in the *DG*. Or rather, what he did was to list ten criteria for distinguishing fragments of AD dealing with Aristotle and the Stoics;²⁰³ by applying these rules, it is not difficult to fish these fragments out ('velut hamo Epitomes fragmenta expiscari'). As we shall see in a later discussion,²⁰⁴ Wachsmuth almost without exception accepted Diels' results and added appropriate sub-titles in the text of his edition of Stobaeus' *Eclogae physicae*.²⁰⁵ And so, hardly a decade after Volkmann's researches Diels' revised theory obtained a quasi-canonical status.

²⁰⁰ This entails that Volkmann attributes to S rather than to the epitome source shared with P and G (i.e. Diels' Aëtius) a number of brief lemmata found in S only.

²⁰¹ Accordingly, Volkmann attributes to S both the verbatim quotations inserted by S and the sections ascribed to AD by Diels.

²⁰² See also *DG* 45ff.

²⁰³ *DG* 73ff.

²⁰⁴ Below, Ch. 4, p. 203f., 210.

²⁰⁵ Wachsmuth (1884).

This canonization is anticipated in the letter of congratulation and self-congratulation Wilamowitz wrote to Diels on receipt of his *Duzfreund's* great book:²⁰⁶

[...] so unverschämt Dir erst elogen noch sagen zu wollen, bin ich nicht. lieber geb' ich Dir die versicherung daß Du an dem was ich oder meine jungens machen sehn sollst daß wir bei Dir gern in die schule gehen.²⁰⁷ daß die methode der quellenuntersuchung hier gelernt werden kann, wo so ganz intricate sachen zu entwirren waren wie aus dem dem leser gleichartig scheinenden Stobaeus material Aetius Arius vita Homeri—daß die methode der reconstruction des textes solcher bücher hier gelernt werden kann, wo die zeugen aus mehr als 10 jahrhunderten den Theophrastischen satz in den verschiedensten wirkungen geben—daß gewiß für jeden (für mich namentlich in saec. I a. Chr) ganze gebiete der litteraturgeschichte sich aufhellen, von denen man kaum eine ahnung hatte: das ist nur so der erste eindruck.

We too, from now on, will mainly learn from Diels, that is to say Diels' magisterial work will be the starting-point for our further researches on the doxographer Aëtius and his intellectual background. What this chapter has shown is that his hypothesis received an indispensable impetus from nearly four centuries of patient and often perceptive source-analysis in the humanistic tradition and the earlier stages of the *Altertumswissenschaft*.

²⁰⁶ Braun & al. (1995b) 45.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Maass (1880) and Wilamowitz (1881), below, Ch. 2, n. 89.

CHAPTER TWO

THE THEORY OF DIELS' *DOXOGRAPHI GRAECI*

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1. *The authority of Diels*

Although the *Doxographi Graeci* was published when Diels was still quite young—to be exact, 31 years of age—it had been a long time in the making. As we saw in the previous chapter,¹ he had started working on the subject in 1868, taking the unfinished researches of his teacher Usener as his starting-point. A small part of his research was hastily published as a dissertation in December 1870, right in the middle of the Franco-Prussian war.² The manuscript of the entire work was not completed until 1877, when Diels submitted it as response to the *Preisfrage* of the Prussian Academy. Thereafter followed nearly two years, during which additions and alterations were made, but which were mainly taken up with detailed and exhausting proof-reading and the compilation of the exemplary indices. The work was finally published in the autumn of 1879. Diels, who by then lived in Berlin, was able to send Usener a copy for his 45th birthday on October 23 1879.³

That the work, crowned with the laurel of the Academy, should have been well received in Germany on its appearance is

¹ See above, Ch. 1, § 2. We repeat some details.

² Diels (1870). He attempted to volunteer but (not entirely to his regret) was overlooked by the military bureaucracy, and was declared unfit for military service after the war had ended.

³ The text of Usener's effusive letter of thanks is printed in Kern (1927) 162ff. and Ehlers (1992) 1.185ff.

hardly surprising. An important early review was that of Zeller in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*. Zeller begins by reporting the verdict of the Academy:⁴

Die Akademie erklärte, der Verf[asser] habe die verwickelten Fragen, mit denen seine Schrift sich beschäftigt, mit umfassender Gelehrsamkeit, musterhaftem Fleiße, methodischer Sicherheit und kritischer Besonnenheit, gründlich, sorgfältig und scharfsinnig untersucht, und es sei ihm gelungen, für die Benutzung wichtiger Quellschriften zum erstenmal eine wissenschaftlich gesicherte Grundlage zu schaffen und einen kritisch gesichteten Text derselben herzustellen. Ref[erent] kann dieses Urteil seinerseits ohne Abzug vertreten ...

The final sentence is amusing because the Academy's declaration was verbally based upon Zeller's own *Gutachten*,⁵ so all he is doing is agreeing with himself. But this would have escaped most readers. In his *Gutachten* Zeller had concluded that in some areas the research could have received a more lucid presentation.⁶ This is not repeated in his review.⁷ Instead he emphasizes that, although the complex nature of the material makes a speculative element unavoidable, 'der Boden einer streng wissenschaftlichen

⁴ Zeller (1880c) 227. Diels' letter of thanks to Zeller for the review at Kern (1927) 169f., and Ehlers (1992) 2.45.

⁵ On which see above, Ch. 1, n. 56.

⁶ 'Es scheint mir ferner, daß sich die verwickelte Untersuchung an einzelnen Stellen durch eine andere Anordnung des Stoffs hätte durchsichtiger machen lassen.' (p. 4 of typescript of ms. dated 17.3.1877).

⁷ It is certain that Diels made additions and alterations to the ms. version submitted to the Academy before the final publication in 1879, see his letter to Gomperz of July 12 1877 at Braun & al. (1995a) 20 and that to Usener of July 22 1877 at Ehlers (1992) 1.138. In most cases this cannot be checked since the ms. is lost. Changes must have been limited to important and less important details, however, since Diels' own descriptions of the contents of the manuscript in letters to Usener (see above, Ch. 1, n. 52) agree with the *DG* as printed, and Zeller's *Gutachten* follows the divisions of the published 'Prolegomena' very closely. It should be noted that there are frequent occasions in the printed version of *DG* where Diels gives cross-references to the manuscript version; e.g. on p. 304 and 309 the reference to p. 18 should be p. 14; cf. also below, n. 87. On the other hand one may be certain that the section dealing with the *VP* was added later (see above, Ch. 1 text to n. 63), and likewise that the references to Zeller (1877) at *DG* 105f. and in the apparatus to Theophr. *Phys. op.* fr. 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9 11, 22 and 23 were added subsequently, for Zeller's paper was read in the Berlin Academy on 1 March and 26 April 1877, and the three volumes of the manuscript of the *DG* had arrived in Berlin before March 22 1877 (see letter of Diels to Usener, Ehlers (1992) 1.122). Neither had he yet had time to deal with Zeller (1876b), see below, n. 117. For the subsequent inclusion of the text of Theophr. *De sensibus* see above, Ch. 1, n. 52.

Forschung nirgends verlassen ist'.⁸ A second important review was that of Susemihl published in the authoritative *Bursians Jahresbericht*. He too begins with words that paraphrase the Academy's verdict:⁹

Dies hervorragende Werk, welches gleich sehr der bewundernswerthen Gelehrsamkeit, der unermüdlichen Sorgfalt, dem eindringenden Scharfsinn und der methodischen Besonnenheit des Verfassers Ehre macht, aber freilich auch einen delischen Schwimmer verlangt, kann eine ungewöhnliche Bedeutung in Anspruch nehmen.

The subtle reference to the Delian diver is clearly a back-handed compliment, since it implicitly compares Diels to the proverbially obscure Heraclitus, while the reviewer as Socrates implies that he is unable to follow the argument in its entirety.¹⁰ Also later in the review Susemihl expresses doubt as to whether he has understood Diels correctly.¹¹ Like Zeller Susemihl devotes most of the review to a summary of the book's contents. Criticism is chiefly reserved for the way Diels deals with doxographical and biographical material in Diogenes Laertius.¹² The same question is picked up by Diels' friend and fellow-student Wilamowitz.¹³ In the Preface to his *Antigonos von Karystos* Wilamowitz openly expresses his admiration:¹⁴

nun trat das epochemachende buch hervor, das das motto trägt: *tardi ingenii est rivulos consecrari, fontes rerum non videre*. hier war für ein ganzes grosses gebiet licht und luft geschafft, indem eine

⁸ Zeller (1880c) 228.

⁹ Susemihl (1879) 289 (note that the review was not published until 1881). Criticism of Diels' working methods and results also in Thiaucourt (1885), who however fails to provide alternative solutions.

¹⁰ Cf. DL 2.22: φασὶ δ' Εὐριπίδην αὐτῷ δόντα τὸ Ἡρακλείτου σύγγραμμα ἐρέσθαι, "τί δοκεῖ," τὸν δὲ φάναι, "ἃ μὲν συνῆκα, γενναῖα· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ ἃ μὴ συνῆκα· πλὴν ἀηλίου γέ τινος δεῖται κολυμβητοῦ." The comment is cited by Mejer (1978) 81.

¹¹ Susemihl (1879) 294 n. 79: 'Diels bejaht, wenn ich ihn recht verstehe, diese Frage ...'.

¹² Susemihl (1879) 293f. But Diels' theory is accepted in its entirety at Susemihl (1891-2) 2.250f. (cf. also *ibid.* 1.763f.).

¹³ They were together in Bonn for two years, until Wilamowitz left for Berlin. See the splendid photo of the students' philological society in 1869 in Kern (1927), facing p. 24, republished as frontispiece at Calder (1974) who identifies the members. See also our Illustr. 4 taken from this photo.

¹⁴ Wilamowitz (1881) 1. This book too was dedicated to Usener, though the motive was a different one, viz. a not entirely cryptic application for a chair at Bonn.

ganze gattung der litteratur aufgearbeitet und in ihrer verzweigung und verästelung klar gelegt war.

But, he continues, for the biographical genre it would not be possible to achieve 'die vervollkommnung der methode' which Diels achieved. In a perceptive note Wilamowitz adds that it would be instructive, not only to look at the Peripatetic transmission, but also to examine the way the Stoic and the Epicurean school concerned themselves with philosophical tenets.¹⁵

The importance of the *DG* (and the influence of Zeller as well as of Diels' edition in 1882 of vol. 1 of Simplicius *In Physica*) were also acknowledged by Fr. Schultess in the preface to the seventh edition, for which he was responsible, of the major source-book on Greek philosophy by Ritter and Preller:¹⁶

Philosophiae graecae scriptori [i.e. Zeller], *doxographorum* Simpliciique editori [i.e. Diels] quantum lucis quantum praesidii debeat sapientiae antiquissimae memoria, hic quoque liber testis est non invitus; in qua tanta est nominum Zeller et Diels frequentia, ut sua utrumque littera principali [*scil.*, Z and D] inducere saepe satis habuerim.

Nevertheless, in spite of these emphatically appreciative judgments, Regenbogen in his excellent biographical notice is probably right when he affirms that the 'epochal significance' of the book was not widely grasped:¹⁷

Es braucht jetzt kaum mehr gesagt zu werden, daß eigentlich eine neue Wissenschaft, mit einem neuen Stoffgebiet und einer so noch nie gehandhabten Methode damit begründet war: die Wissenschaft von der Tradition der griechischen Philosophie; erst von nun an war es möglich, die Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie auf ein Fundament von unangreifbarer Objektivität zu stellen.

That this was Diels' own aspiration shines through in the letter he wrote to Zeller thanking him for the favourable review. Much

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, with explicit reference to Woltjer (1877). Wilamowitz's instincts were partly right, but his advice was not followed up. See now the postulation of a *Vetustissima Placita* in Mansfeld (1989a), and for Epicurus cf. Mansfeld (1994a).

¹⁶ Ritter and Preller (1886⁷) iii (our emphasis). References are updated; though there is no new introductory chapter dealing with the sources the users of this text-book are informed about the argument and contents of the *DG* in the comments and footnotes in the 'Prolegomena' and the section on Thales.

¹⁷ Regenbogen (1961) 545 (first published in 1929).

remains to be done, he writes, and much will remain forever obscure, but at the very least the work will simplify scholarly apparatuses. In fact, he goes on to say with ostentatious modesty, it is to be hoped that it will be of some help to the great historian himself when he has to revise the footnotes of his history of Presocratic philosophy.¹⁸ In fact, we would argue, it was not until the publication of Diels' own *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (abbreviated *VS*), that the earlier work was truly established as the foundation upon which a good part of the history of ancient philosophy was built, although already the *Poetarum philosophorum fragmenta* (abbreviated *PPF*) of 1901, which has never been reprinted, is based on the *DG*.

As is well known, Diels in the *VS* divided the evidence on the Presocratics into A, B and C fragments, but it is less well known that this important innovation is first to be found in the *PPF*. In the preface to this work Diels justifies the fact that his collection contains a lot more than verbatim fragments and context in the following words (our emphasis):¹⁹

sic poetas usque ad Empedoclem paene permensus eram, cum vidi, nisi difficillimos illos poetas aut inexplicatos in gravissimo quoque loco relinquere aut nimia interpretatione quasi obruere vellem, doctrinam mihi ipsam philosophorum adscribendam esse. namque etsi poetas edere, non philosophos, huius Corporis²⁰ instituto iubeor, tamen sine philosophiae luce caeca fore haec carmina intellexi. itaque selecta *doxographorum* capita vitis singulis adnexui; quo facto quantum aequabilitate detrahetur, tantum perspicuitati additum iri spero.

In the *VS* and the *PPF* the B fragments, containing the *ipsissima verba* of the philosophers are and remain the primary sources.

¹⁸ Kern (1927) 169f. and Ehlers (1992) 2.45. Zeller's acknowledgement of the fundamental importance of Diels' unique and 'bahnbrechende Untersuchung' for his revision of the *Geschichte* is to be found in the Preface to *PhdGr* (1892⁵) 1.1.viii.f., reprinted in *PhdGr* (1919⁶) 1.1.xiv. Cf. already Zeller (1880a) 137, '[...] H. Diels in seinem durch gründliche Gelehrsamkeit und kritische Umsicht gleich ausgezeichneten, für das quellenmäßige Studium der vorsokratischen und nacharistotelischen Philosophie fortan unentbehrlichem Werke, den *Doxographi graeci* [...]' (our italics).

¹⁹ Diels (1901a) vi; individual texts often include a reference to the page in the *DG*, just as in the *VS*. The edition of the fragments of Parmenides, Diels (1897), was a preliminary effort in view of the *PPF*, but here the A fragments are still lacking.

²⁰ The corpus (never completed) of the *Poetarum Graecorum Fragmenta*, of which the *PPF* is Vol. 3.1.

The status of the A fragments, however, depends in the first instance on the analysis of the tradition made in the *Doxographi Graeci*.²¹ In the Preface to the first edition of the *VS* Diels announces that the doxographical material which it contains will be ordered (in each chapter) in accordance with the structure of its foundational work, the (so-called) *Φυσικῶν δόξαι* of Theophrastus.²² This alludes to the hypothesis that forms the coping stone of the earlier work. It is noteworthy that Diels neither refers explicitly to the earlier *DG*, nor draws attention to the hypothetical nature of its conclusions.²³ Presumably he believed they were not hypothetical at all.²⁴

The briefest glance at numerous authoritative studies on the history of Greek philosophy will reveal how immense the influence of Diels' *Doxographi Graeci* proved to be. Naturally this applied above all to the study of the Presocratics,²⁵ but it also had

²¹ For an example of how the presentation of material in the *VS* is obscured by the cross-reference to the text as established in the *DG*, cf. Runia (1989) 246ff. on 21A43 DK. It is recalled that Diels, as announced in the Preface to the first edition, intended the *VS* as a *selection* of texts to be used by students as accompaniment for lectures. The further statement (e.g. by Regenbogen (1955) 305) that he would have been horrified by the process of quasi-canonization that took place in its numerous editions seems to us not so to the point. It is true that the first edition (1903) had no apparatus. But already the second edition (1906) was not much less compendious than the later editions, two of which Diels prepared in his own life-time (1912, 1922). He did not expect the work to be soon superseded. One may add that the separate edition of Heraclitus (Diels (1901b) was in the first place meant to try out 'die Einrichtung der » Vorsokratiker «' (thus Diels at p. xvi n. 3 of the enlarged edition of 1909). In this second edition the commentary is 'etwas reichlicher ausgestaltet', and the text and apparatus are identical with that of the Heraclitus chapter of the *VS*.

²² Printed in all subsequent editions. The Preface to the second edition, also printed in all subsequent editions, adds that the doxographical A fragments in the *VS* unlike those in the *PPF* are far from complete.

²³ Interestingly the fixed order of the topics purportedly treated in Theophrastus' work is one of the points where Susemihl thought Diels went too far. See (1879) 293: 'Diels wagt es hiernach die Reihenfolge der Gegenstände bei Theophrastos selbst zu bestimmen.' In a note he adds: 'Die Vermuthung ist in dieser Form schwerlich haltbar...' (his emphasis).

²⁴ Cf. Diels (1893b) 409: 'So schuf [...] Theophrast die Geschichte der Philosophie in den 18 Büchern seiner *Φυσικῶν δόξαι*, von deren Auffassung und Stoff die ganze spätere Ueberlieferung abhängig ist' (our italics).

²⁵ Note, for example, Burnet (1930⁴) 33ff. (first published in 1892), Guthrie (1962-81) 1.xiii. Kahn (1960) 12 rightly remarks that, although Diels' theory that the reports on the Presocratics go back to Theophrastus is generally accepted, 'the attempt to visualize more clearly the lost archetype, and thereby to assay the documentary value of the different epitomes, has not yet been

profound repercussions for many others areas of ancient thought. For example, the author of a history of astronomy from Thales to Aristarchus thought it necessary to preface his account with a summary of Diels' theory.²⁶ We agree entirely with the judgment of Walter Burkert, who, in giving a resumé of Diels' career and scholarly achievement as a foreword to a collection of his *Kleine Schriften*, writes of his first major publication as follows:²⁷

Die 'Doxographi Graeci' waren im Herbst 1879 erschienen—nächst Zellers 'Philosophie der Griechen' wohl die bedeutendste Leistung für die griechische Philosophiegeschichte im 19. Jahrhundert. Man kann kaum ein zweites Werk der Altertumswissenschaft nennen, das noch heute [*scil.*, 1969] nach fast hundert Jahren so rundum gültig ist. Gewiß, die Grundlinien der Überlieferung von Theophrast bis Stobaios waren Usener bereits klar gewesen, doch es ist ein weiter Weg von dem Grundgedanken bis zur detaillierten Ausführung. Das Ergebnis, sorgfältige Edition und kritische Überlieferungsgeschichte zugleich, übertraf noch Useners Erwartungen. Ein neues Fundament war damit gelegt für die griechische Geistesgeschichte von den Vorsokratikern bis zu den Byzantinern; Zwischenglieder, die bisher unbeachtet oder unbekannt waren, wurden jetzt greifbar, zitierbar: Vetusta Placita, Aetios. Die Vollständigkeit, mit der die Quellen bis in ihre letzten Ausläufer erfaßt sind, und die Sicherheit des Urteils, das jedem einzelnen seinen Platz anweist, setzen immer wieder in Erstaunen; dazu ein ausgezeichnete Index, wie er damals noch keineswegs üblich war.²⁸ Fast über-
sieht man unter dem Eindruck der Monumentalität, mit wieviel

carried to completion'. A 'surprisingly limited place is given to Diels' researches in the introductory section on sources in Praechter (1926) 12, § 4 I B c), 'Doxographische Berichte', though Praechter accepts the results without reservation: 'Die Prolegomena [...] geben [...] einen genauen Einblick in die Filiation innerhalb der ganzen doxographischen Literatur. Die scharfsinnige Aufdeckung der vielverschlungenen Wege, auf denen das doxographische Material zu unseren sekundären Quellen gelangt ist, führt zu den wichtigsten Ergebnissen auch für die Quellenkritik des Cicero, Diog. Laërt., Klemens v. Alexandria u.a.'; see also *ibid.* 23f. Praechter in this paragraph distinguishes more clearly than Diels between the various genres of sources on the history of philosophy. He also cites post-Dielsian literature dealing with doxography (12, 'E r g ä n z u n g e n'; 14*f.).

²⁶ Heath (1913) 1ff., with a useful, but rather inaccurate, diagram on p.6.

²⁷ Burkert (1969) ix.

²⁸ There is no bibliography (or *index nominum modernorum* for that matter) in the *DG*, a lack which at the time was the rule rather than the exception, and Diels' references to the learned literature in the 'Prolegomena' are abbreviated and often vague. Insofar as references were concerned Wilamowitz was even worse, because he rarely gave them; readers were supposed to know.

Schwung und Temperament die 263 Seiten lateinischer Prolegomena geschrieben sind. Außer einem *me ... persuasti* auf der ersten Seite hat Diels kaum etwas zurücknehmen müssen.

These words were written some twenty-five years ago, yet hardly a word needs to be retracted. If proof be required, we might point to three cases, the first being today's standard textbook on Presocratic philosophy. When recently, after a quarter of a century, a rather thoroughly revised second edition was published not a word of the introductory account, which leans heavily on Diels, was thought to be in need of change.²⁹ The second case is the very full bibliography in two volumes dealing with Presocratic studies published by Paquet & *al.* in 1988-9. This starts with the year 1879, the *annus mirabilis* the *DG* was published.³⁰ Diels' monument still stands, seemingly *aere perennius*. What is more, by a most remarkable *actio in distans* it even spawned a counterpart, the voluminous and as to the details often useful, but as to its larger purpose entirely unsuccessful *Dossografi di Etica* of Michelangelo Giusta. In his preface Giusta acknowledges the canonical status of the *DG*; he follows its example and methodology by the application of the synoptic method³¹ throughout (though he is far more generous in assuming correspondences), and goes even further than Diels had ventured by reconstructing another *VP*, a 'Vetusta Placita' di Etica' which he attributes to Arius Didymus.³²

²⁹ Kirk and Raven (1957) 1ff., Kirk, Raven and Schofield (1983) 1ff. The same holds for Mansfeld (1983-86), though some reserve is expressed at 1.30: 'Die ungemein schwierige Aufgabe der Rekonstruktion des Stammbaums dieser Bearbeitungen [i.e. of the works purportedly deriving from Theophrastus] ist im 19. Jahrhundert von Diels gelöst worden (jedenfalls hat keiner es bisher gewagt, Diels' Arbeit neu zu machen)'.

³⁰ Paquet & *al.* (1988-9) 1.14f. (general introduction), on Diels as having 'dominé la période que nous étudions', and 1.66 (on the *DG*): 'cet ouvrage [...] est le point de départ et de référence (à quelques réserves près [...]) de la recherche en pensée présocratique depuis sa parution'. The 'réserves' mainly refer to the feeble objections of Thiaucourt (1885). Cf. also Hanson & *al.* (1993) in the introduction to their Sources Chrétiennes edition of Hermias, 25: 'La nature de cette tradition [*scil.*, the doxographical tradition] a été pour l'essentiel établie, une fois pour toutes, par Hermann Diels dans ses *Doxographi Graeci*'. On this remark and the sloppy accompanying diagram see below p. 315 n. 73. Göransson (1995) 13 points out that 1879 was 'a momentous date' in the history of research on Middle Platonism because it saw the publication of both Diels' work and the monograph on Albinus by J. Freudenthal (1879).

³¹ See below, §4.

³² Giusta (1964-7); see 1.7: 'Non si può ancora oggi parlare di dossografi senza pensare all'opera magistrale con cui Hermann Diels [reference to *DG*

The *Doxographi Graeci* is indeed—let this be emphasized in no uncertain terms—an achievement of the first order. One might argue that never before and never since have such wide learning and such supreme mastery of the tools of philological analysis been shown by a scholar so young. Nevertheless, without wishing to detract from what Diels achieved, we should be careful to observe that the permanence of his work did not come as a matter of chance. Burkert strikes exactly the right note when he speaks of its monumentality. Its definitive title, the vast and complex ‘Prolegomena’, the corpus of meticulously reedited and reorganized (and sometimes renumbered) texts, the massive index, all three parts interrelated with countless cross-references—all were designed to impose and endure. Diels writes in the letter to Usener which serves as the book’s preface that he hopes corrections will be made and that others will pursue the subject further:³³

But if I noticed that any mistake through a step-mother’s jealousy had found its way in, I corrected it in the Addenda. Remaining errors will be corrected by those who concern themselves with the subject. For I wish nothing more passionately than that others enter this area of study and are willing to apply their efforts to a terrain that was once wilderness but is now much more civilized.

The modesty is no doubt well (and tactfully) meant. But it cannot be said that the requested scrutiny ever took place in an adequate and systematic way. To be sure, Diels’ efforts to disentangle the doxographical and biographical traditions and partly incorporate the latter in the former met with immediate criticism, as we saw,

in footnote] ricostrui nelle sue linee fondamentali la storia della tradizione dossografica della fisica, dai libri Φυσικῶν δοξῶν di Teofrasto fino alle compilazioni degli ultimi secoli dell’*evo* antico. [...] Dopo di allora, pur non essendo mancate ricerche variamente connesse con i testi dossografici superstiti, non comparve un lavoro complessivo che per serietà di impegno e per ampiezza di indagine potesse avvicinarsi all’opera del Diels [...]’. For the ‘« *Vetusta Placita* » di Etica’ see Giusta (1964-7) 1.189ff., 1.207ff., etc.; at 2.548ff. he also attributes the ‘*Vetusta placita* di fisica’ to AD (this thesis is worked out in more detail in Giusta (1986)), and concludes that AD dealt with ethics and physics in one and the same work to be called *Vetusta placita*. Though we do not, of course, doubt that Arius Didymus dealt with both ethics and physics the derivation of the proto-Aëtian material from AD, another variety of the Meineke hypothesis (see above, Ch. 1, §7) is as unwarranted as the identification of A and AD (see further below, Ch. 7, Appendix).

³³ DG vi: ‘ceterum si quid novercae invidia damni inlatum observaram, in Addendis correxi, reliqua corrigent quibus id curae erit. nihil enim vehementius opto, quam ut alii veniant in partes, qui agro olim horrido, nunc sane cultiori suam velint impendere operam.’

and were never fully accepted.³⁴ But in the case of his doxographical labours monumentality triumphed over modesty. For over a century scholars have preferred to accept Diels' reconstruction of the doxographical tradition proper as the foundation of their own work, rather than reinitiate an examination of the foundations themselves.³⁵ *Omne ignotum pro magnifico*, just as in the case of, for example, Beazley's chronology of Attic vases. Yet we should not be quick to point the accusing finger here, for we have to take into account not only the vast scope and complexity of the subject, but also the inherent difficulty of coping with Diels' subtly obfuscatory presentation. Stuck in a school-teaching job which he loathed, Diels was determined to establish his academic credentials as impressively as he possibly could. Hence the erudite Latin of the 'Prolegomena', its complex and circuitous structure, the scanty and not seldom scathing references to previous and contemporary scholars. For this reason too, we may surmise, his very considerable debts to his predecessors, which have been set out in some detail in the previous chapter, are rather successfully concealed. Although the work is a masterpiece of organization, it is only easily accessible on its own terms. The argument on which the organization is based is for the most part presented in a compressed, even oblique way, making frequent use of results already established elsewhere. Much of the subsequent authority of the *Doxographi Graeci* is, we would argue, the result of the manner of its presentation.³⁶

2. *Diels' theory in outline*

It will be useful, therefore, first to give a brief general outline of the main lines of Diels' theory of the *Placita*. As was noted in the

³⁴ Recent discussion at Mejer (1978) 83ff.; see also the historical overview in Desbordes (1990) 154ff.

³⁵ A partial exception is Waszink in his magisterial edition of Tertulian's *De anima* (1947), esp. 29ff. Cf. Mansfeld (1990a) 3064f.: 'only the unhappy few are aware of our own *Rezeptionsgeschichte*, that is to say of the fact that to a large extent the research of today is based upon the foundations laid long before yesterday by means of a *Quellenforschung* that has been as thoroughly assimilated as it has been forgotten.'

³⁶ Compare the grounds for the success of Lachmann's Lucretius *Commentary* of 1850 as analyzed by Kenney (1974) 106ff. Lachmann too is characterized by a cavalier attitude to his predecessors and an overwhelming mode of presentation; cf. below, n. 76.

previous chapter, the task he was set by Usener and in the two contests was to investigate the lineage of the kind of literature represented above all by ps.-Plutarch's *Placita philosophorum*. Drawing on the remarkable organisatory talents that were to stand him in good stead throughout his long career,³⁷ Diels set about reducing the incredibly complex strands of the doxographic traditions to an orderly schema. One might compare the procedure to a military operation in which the master-strategist conducts his campaign by means of a number of carefully planned and articulated moves. Reduced to its essentials, the operation involves the following six decisive moves, which we shall now describe in more detail than in the first paragraph of the previous chapter.³⁸

(1) Starting-point, as explicitly indicated in the text of the Berlin *Preisfrage*,³⁹ is the work in five relatively short books of pseudo-Plutarch, *Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων φιλοσόφοις φυσικῶν δογμάτων* (henceforth P).⁴⁰ In spite of its manifest shortcomings, this work enjoyed considerable popularity in later ancient, early Islamic, and Byzantine thought.⁴¹ Diels' first move is to separate a

³⁷ Wonderfully well expressed in the evaluation of Regenbogen (1927) 550: 'Wenn man rückschauend das Lebenswerk von D. noch einmal überblickt, so zeigt sich, daß es auf dem Grunde einer doppelten, in ihrer Mächtigkeit sowohl wie in ihrem Beieinander erstaunlichen Begabung ruht: einer philologisch-historischen einerseits und einer eminent technischen andererseits. ...gemeint ist die singuläre Durchdringung der beiden Grundfähigkeiten, der geduldigen Feinheit, die sich anschmiegt und einlebt, mit methodischer Vorsicht historischen Zusammenhängen nachgeht, Konjekturen unterbaut und sprachliche Denkmale interpretierend versteht mit einer praktisch-organisierten Technik, die einen riesigen Stoff, sei er von der Wissenschaft oder vom Leben aufgegeben, durchleuchtet, ordnet, in seiner inneren, ihm eigenen Organisation erfaßt und mit baumeisterlicher Kraft aus ihm ein mächtiges Gebäude zu errichten weiß.' The negative side was an excessive concern for form at the cost of substance. Cf. Burkert (1969) xii: 'Man sprach wohl gar vom Eisenbahnbeamten, der jede Bremse abklopft, ohne sich ums Ziel des Zuges zu kümmern.' This reported remark (perhaps made by Karl Reinhardt) rather indelicately refers to the fact that Diels' father was a Stationmaster in the service of the German Railways.

³⁸ These moves approximate to Diels' own manner of presentation in the 'Prolegomena', but do not follow it slavishly. We use them to make the structure of his argument as a whole as clear as possible.

³⁹ Printed above, text to Ch. 1, n. 55.

⁴⁰ Just as in the previous chapter we use this and subsequently indicated abbreviations to refer indiscriminately to both the author or the work of the author under examination. When, however, we explicitly discuss, or mention, the personality and motivations of the author in question, we shall revert to the full name.

⁴¹ As we shall see in the next chapter, since Diels' death papyrus

tradition which is verbally dependent on P from another tradition which is parallel to P but, as we shall see, cannot be reduced to it because of the nature of the additional material it contains. This P tradition then needs to be sorted out (*DG* 1-40). It might be thought that Philo of Alexandria (first half 1st century CE) already refers to it, but Diels argues that the relevant passage in *Prov.* 1.22 was later interpolated. The first clear (though quite limited) use of P, in his view, is to be found in the apologist Athenagoras (177 CE).⁴² Far more important, however, are the extensive extracts copied out by Eusebius (henceforth E) early in the fourth century in his *Praeparatio Evangelica*. A copy of P must thus have been present in the Episcopal library of Caesarea. E already reveals some of the errors and lacunae of P's later mss. tradition, but also preserves various excellent readings. A good copy of P was also used by the 5th century bishop Cyril of Alexandria in his polemical work *Contra Julianum*. The next work to make extensive use of P is the pseudo-Galenic *Περὶ φιλοσόφου ἱστορίας* (henceforth G), to the transmission and edition of which Diels had devoted his doctoral dissertation.⁴³ The compiler of this work was shoddy enough, and the transmitted text is so bad, that even with the help of P it is often impossible to restore it. Nevertheless the text also preserves a number of excellent readings. The treatise is difficult to date, but Diels opts for a date in the 5th century (see also the extensive discussion of problems associated with the work at *DG* 233-58, which is appended to the main argument of the 'Prolegomena'). G's location is unknown, but we do know that the treatise was present in Byzantium, for John Lydus in the next century makes use of it. Diels then devotes a long discussion to the *Introduction to Aratus* by Achilles (henceforth Ach), whom he dates to about the 3rd century. He argues that, although there are considerable divergencies between Ach and P, it is more plausible to maintain that he drew on and expanded or altered P, than to argue that both drew on a more copious source (*DG* 18-27).⁴⁴ The Arabic tradition is briefly referred to, and Diels cites the Arabic translator of P, Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā (henceforth Q), but this tradition could not be used

fragments containing scraps of the work have been found.

⁴² We disagree on this purported debt; see below Ch. 3, p. 124f.; for Diels' predecessors on this issue see above, Ch. 1, n. 185.

⁴³ See above, Ch. 1, §2.

⁴⁴ Diels later withdrew this suggestion; see below, n. 122 and Ch. 6, p. 303.

for textual purposes (since the text was not yet available). Finally he turns to the later Byzantine tradition, including the mss. tradition of P itself. The date of P is established somewhat later in the argument. Diels argues for a date just a little before the *t.a.q.* fixed by Athenagoras, i.e. about 150 CE (DG 64-6). The results of the entire enquiry are presented in the complex diagram which concludes the first section of the 'Prolegomena' (DG 40).

(2) For his second decisive move Diels turns to the tradition parallel but not identical to P and dissects the more extensive of its two main representatives, the doxographical extracts preserved by the early 5th century anthologist Johannes Stobaeus in his 'Εκλογαὶ ἀποφθέγματα ὑποθήκαι (henceforth S). In this work copious excerpts of anonymously presented Greek text are found which are very often word for word identical with P, but are interspersed with similar doxographic material which is not found there. Taking his cue from earlier discoveries by Meineke and Volkmann,⁴⁵ Diels now makes a second vital distinction, this time between the material identical to or strictly parallel to P, and doxographical reports drawn from two other sources. The material common to P and S is easily shown to have been drawn from a common source, to which we return in the third move. On the other side of the divide the main source is identified as the 'Επιτομή of Arius Didymus (henceforth AD),⁴⁶ viz., according to Meineke and Diels, the Stoic Arius, the court philosopher of the emperor Augustus. Diels proceeds to analyse this important source (DG 69-88) and for part of it, τὰ φυσικά, he includes a collection of fragments which so far has remained superseded (DG 447-72).⁴⁷ Of lesser importance is the second source which he labels ps.Plutarchean, because of the similarity with ps.Plutarch's *Vita Homeri*, and dates to the 2nd century CE (88-99).⁴⁸ By means of this distinction between three ingredients in Stobaeus, therefore, it is

⁴⁵ Cf. above, Ch. 1, §8.

⁴⁶ On the problem of the work's title, see below, Ch. 3, p. 182ff., Ch. 4, p. 242ff.; on the identity of the author above, Ch. 1, n. 160, n. 163, n. 164, below Ch. 4, p. 240f.

⁴⁷ On this collection see further below Ch. 4, p. 244-57 and Runia (1996).

⁴⁸ This whole section is rather weak, as noted by e.g. Buffière (1962) xxxiv. Important preliminary discussion of the allegorical Homeric literature in Stobaeus relating in some way or other to Plutarch or ps.Plutarch by Kindstrand (1990) xf., xlviiiiff., who announces fuller treatment in his eagerly awaited commentary on the *De Homero*.

is possible to bring the sources P and S much closer to each other.

(3) For his third move Diels adduces a third source of doxographical material. An almost exact contemporary of Stobaeus, Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus in Northern Syria, in his work Ἑλληνικῶν θεραπευτικῆ παθημάτων, presents diverse doxographical extracts of varying length, which, like S, run strictly parallel to P but cannot be reduced to it (henceforth T). Unlike Stobaeus, however, Theodoret on three occasions talks about the source of his material:⁴⁹

(i) CAG 2.95, 62.4-7 Raeder (giving a list of Greek sources): Πλούταρχος δὲ καὶ Ἀέτιος τὰς τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐκπαιδεύουσι δόξας· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ ὁ Πορφύριος ἀνεδέξατο πόνον, τὸν ἐκάστου βίον ταῖς δόξαις προστεθεικώς. (Plutarch and Aëtius give a thorough exposition of the opinions. Porphyry too took on the same task, adding the life of each philosopher to the opinions.)

(ii) 4.31, 108.27-109.4 (after a long list of *doxai* on the ἀρχαί in §5-24): εἰ δέ τις οἶεται κάμει συκοφαντῆσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, τὴν παμπόλλην αὐτῶν διαφωνίαν ἐλέγξαντα, ἀναγνώτω μὲν Ἀετίου τὴν Περί ἀρεσκόντων ξυναγωγὴν, ἀναγνώτω δὲ Πλουτάρχου τὴν Περί τῶν τοῖς φιλοσόφοις δοξάντων ἐπιτομήν· καὶ Πορφυρίου δὲ ἡ Φιλόσοφος ἱστορία πολλὰ τοιαῦτα διδάσκει. (If anyone thinks that I am slandering the men, when I refute their copious dissension, let him read the *Collection on placita* of Aëtius, let him read the epitome *On the opinions of the philosophers* of Plutarch; and the *Philosophic history* of Porphyry too teaches many such things.)

(iii) 5.16, 126.21-22 (preceding diverse *doxai* on the soul): ἃ δέ γε ζὺν θεῷ λέξω, ἐκ τῶν Πλουτάρχῳ καὶ Πορφυρίῳ καὶ μέντοι καὶ Ἀετίῳ ξυγγραμμένων ἐρῶ. (What I now shall state with God's help, I shall take from the writings of Plutarch and Porphyry and of course Aëtius.)

Since Porphyry's treatise is explicitly stated to have been another kind of work and the Plutarchean work mentioned is P (which Theodoret knew about from E,⁵⁰ and may have even possessed, but chose not to use), and since his *doxai* are fuller than P and parallel to S, Diels was able to deduce that the common source for P, S and T is the work Περί ἀρεσκόντων ξυναγωγή (as he takes the title to be) of the otherwise unknown author Aëtius (henceforth A) mentioned only in the three passages in the CAG quoted above.⁵¹ He

⁴⁹ Cf. above, Ch. 1, §1 & §4.

⁵⁰ On Theodoret's extensive use of Eusebius' *Praeparatio evangelica* see Roos (1886), Raeder (1900) 73ff., Canivet (1958a) 161ff., and the upper apparatus in Raeder's *Teubneriana* of the CAG. Theodoret himself (CAG 2.97) explicitly refers the reader for further information to Eusebius' work, of which he quotes the title.

⁵¹ On Diels' failure adequately to accredit earlier proponents of the Aëtius

moreover argues that Theodoret preserves some material absent in both P and S, as well as some excellent readings (*DG* 45-9). The only other witness to this earlier work by A, Diels continues, is the 4th century Bishop Nemesius of Emesa (henceforth N), who preserves some psychological extracts (*DG* 49-50). The Aëtius hypothesis thus forms the foundation for his synoptic reconstruction of the original work presented in full detail at *DG* 268-444. The left column of each page represents P, the right column S, while extracts from other authors are collected at the bottom of the page; to the left Diels places what he calls the *testimonia Plutarchi* (Ach, Cyril, etc.), while to the right passages from T and N are presented as *aliorum ex Aetio excerpta*. The two columns (P and S) are united by a horizontal brace. Given the importance of Aëtius for Diels' entire enterprise, discussion of what we know about Aëtius, his method, and his treatise is surprisingly brief and scattered (*DG* 66-9, 99-102, 178-81). Diels argues for a date towards the middle of the 2nd century CE, i.e. rather close to his *t.a.q.* for P.

(4) For his next move Diels makes an adventurous jump to a much earlier period of antiquity.⁵² Following the lead of his teacher Usener, he argues that the doxographical tradition, represented in its fullest form in Aëtius, finds its ultimate origin in a particular work of Theophrastus, the Φυσικῶν δόξαι, as he calls it (*DG* 102-18).⁵³ The majority of the more extensive fragments from this work, focussing mainly on the ἀρχαί, are derived from Simplicius, but other material according to Diels is located in Cicero, Galen, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Diogenes Laertius and others.⁵⁴

hypothesis, see above, Ch. 1, §4-5.

⁵² Fine summary of Diels' theory as it relates to Theophrastus at Regenbogen (1940) 1535ff. The account of the next two moves is intended as a description. It should be kept in mind that most of the argument cannot be maintained in the form put forward by Diels; preliminary criticisms at Mansfeld (1985), (1986a), (1987), (1988a), (1989a), (1989b), (1990a), (1992a), (1994a), (1996).

⁵³ For the argument that the title was Φυσικαὶ δόξαι see Mansfeld (1990a) 3057f. n. 1 and Mansfeld (1992a), expanded in the Italian version (1993). As a matter of fact, Φυσικαὶ is more 'doxographical' than the prosopographically oriented Φυσικῶν.

⁵⁴ The fragments of the *Phys. op.* are collected at *DG* 475-95. Note how Diels retains, where possible, the numbering of Usener (1858). A partly different ordering of the fragments derived from Simplicius *In Phys.* is argued by Mansfeld (1987) and to some extent applied by Fortenbaugh & al. (1992) 1.402ff. For the problematic fragment at Cic. *Luc.* 123 (= *Phys. op.* fr. 18 Diels, Theophr. F 240 Fortenbaugh & al. (1992) in the section 'Doxography

Theophrastus follows the lead of Aristotle and, as part of the research and archival activity of the Peripatetic school, surveys and records the views of pre-Aristotelian philosophers in the area of physics, arranging the material by means of topics in 18 books. The best illustration of his method, Diels argues, is given by the surviving fragment *De sensibus* (edition *DG* 497-527). In a 'conspectus', which with its five columns and different sizes of type in two alphabets is a magnificent specimen of the printer's art, Diels attempts to show how carefully selected doxographical excerpts in Hippolytus *Ref.* I (edited *DG* 553-76), the ps.Plutarchean *Stromateis* cited by Eusebius (edited *DG* 579-83), and Diogenes Laertius and Aëtius correspond in various ways to the surviving fragments of Theophrastus' work, and thus represent the *disiecta membra* of a unified doxographical tradition (*DG* 132-44). In order to account for this unity Diels has to embark on a lengthy and intricate examination of Hippolytus, Diogenes Laertius and similar sources (*DG* 145-77), even thinking it possible to reconstruct the order of a section of Theophrastus' original work from the doxographical notices preserved in Hippolytus.⁵⁵ This attempt to disentangle doxographical and biographical sources in this section of his theory gave rise to criticisms which we noted above,⁵⁶ but these are of only marginal relevance to the main aspects of the theory that are our chief concern.

(5) There remains a further move. Although Aëtius is included in the Theophrastean 'conspectus' because he twice mentions the Peripatetic as a source, it is apparent that the main body of his *Placita* are not *directly* derived from there. Earlier in his argument Diels had examined a number of doxographies on the ἀρχαί and theology, notably Cicero *Luc.* 118, Cicero *ND* 1.25-41 and a section from Philodemus *On Piety* (the latter two printed in parallel columns *DG* 529-50), and Clement *Protr.* 64-6. This material cannot stem from the *Placita*, as had been thought, if by that P and S are meant, but certainly is likely to come from an older collection (*DG* 119-32).⁵⁷ This hint is picked up much later in the argument,

on nature') see Mansfeld (1992a) 98ff.

⁵⁵ The precision of the deduction is criticized by Susemihl (1879) 293; see above n. 23.

⁵⁶ See above, text to n. 12, text to n. 15.

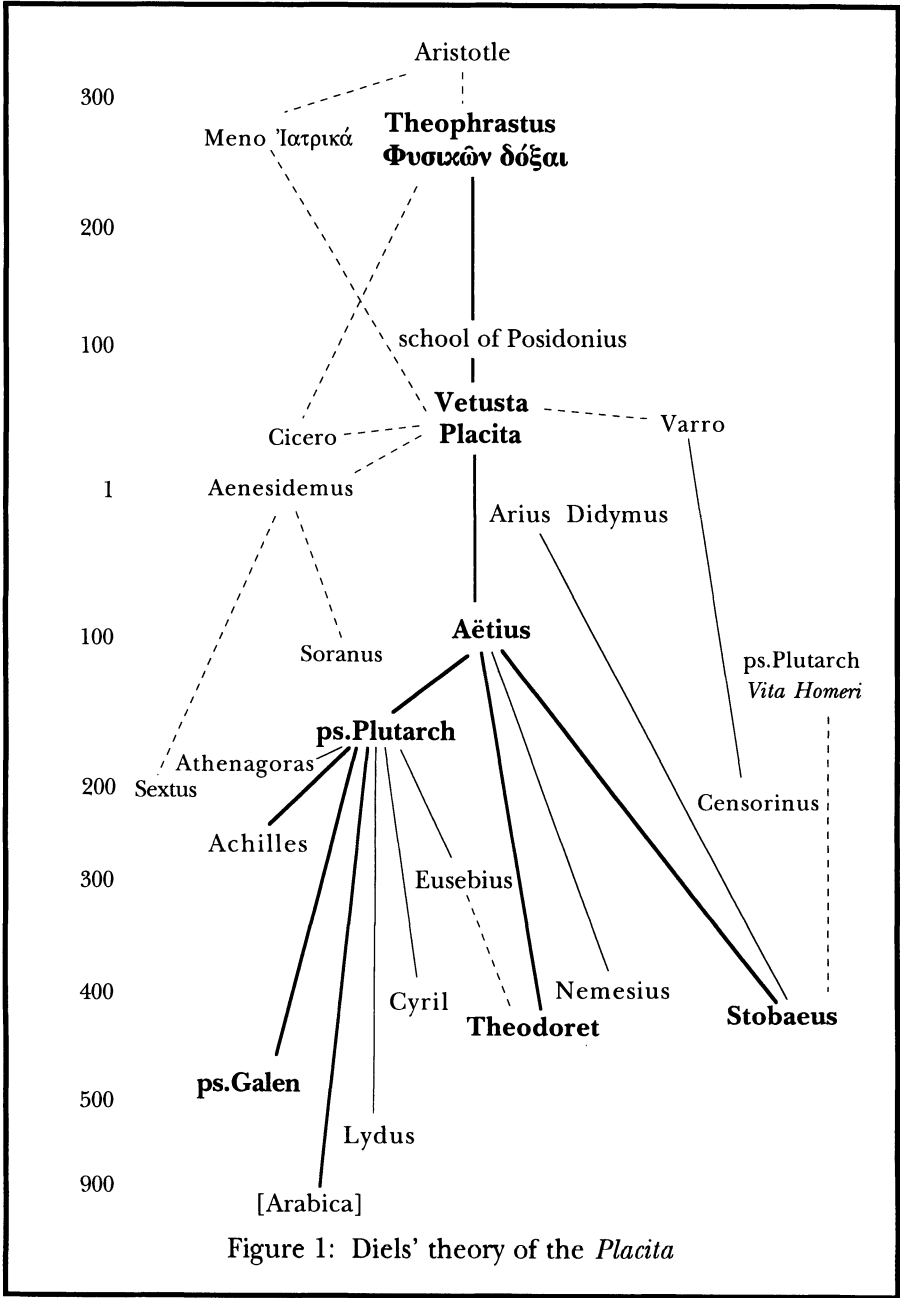
⁵⁷ See esp. *DG* 128: 'vulgaris est Krischei opinio ex Placitis maximam partem [of the theological doxography in Philodemus which Krische believed

when Diels returns to the composition of Aëtius' *Placita* (DG 178-214). Having stripped away the (in his view identifiable) accretions made by Aëtius himself, he is left with a coherent structure, probably originally in VI books rather than V as in Aëtius. The source of this structure Diels argues to have been a lost work, to which he gives the title *Vetusta Placita* (henceforth *VP*). The work can be dated to about 80-60 BCE through the combination of two facts. (1) The last persons to be mentioned are Posidonius the philosopher and Asclepiades the medical scientist. (2) There are striking parallels between Aëtius book V and the 3rd century CE writer Censorinus, whose source was Varro writing in about 50 BCE. Further significant parallels occur between Aëtius books IV-V and Tertullian. These are explained by the fact that the Church father drew on the medical writer Soranus (first half 2nd century CE, i.e. contemporary with Aëtius), who exploited the *VP* probably via the Neopyrrhonist Aenesidemus (probably a contemporary of Varro and Cicero).⁵⁸

(6) One further step remains. The link still needs to be made between the *VP* and the origin of the tradition in the Peripatetic school. What were the sources of the *VP* (DG 214-33)? As Diels himself emphasizes at the outset of this section (214), the further he moves back beyond the compilers to the original sources, the less evidence is available and the more perilous the quest becomes. Indeed the argument here becomes truly labyrinthine. Four particular aspects can briefly be mentioned to round off our summary of Diels' argument. (a) The nature of the Aristotelian source material is examined. It is posited that the more traditional Peripatetic *doxai* stem from the *VP*, while the more specific material based on the Andronican corpus was added by Aëtius (214-17). (b) Much of the material on early Greek philosophy is derived from Theophrastus, as Diels considers to have been shown

to be by Phaedrus] *translatam esse. quod falsum est, si Plutarchi aut Aëtii Placita intellexit, verum aut probabile certum, si quod antiquius Placitorum corpus*'. The (typically vague) reference is to Krische (1840) 40 (quoted above, Ch. 1, text to n. 36). See also above, Ch. 1 text to n. 33, where it is pointed out that in the Bonn *Preisaufrage* it is still assumed that the common source for P, S and G was available in the time of Cicero, but by the time of the Berlin *Preisfrage* this notion was tacitly dropped (above, Ch. 1, text after n. 55). This background accounts for the prominence of the section in Diels' argument.

⁵⁸ Useful but not entirely accurate summary at Waszink (1947) 29ff.



in his earlier 'conspectus' (217-24).⁵⁹ (c) But much foreign material is also included. Diels regards the process of Stoicizing as particularly prominent, attributing this (especially on the basis of evidence in Seneca) to the intervention of Posidonius and his school (224-32). (d) Finally the origin of the body of medical lemmata found in Aëtius and drawn on by Soranus needs to be determined. The vital information is here furnished by Galen, *In Hippocratis De natura hominis*, CMG 9,1, p. 16.3 ff. Mewaldt (DG 232), who speaks of a collection of medical *placita* by a certain Meno, presumably a Peripatetic, because the work was falsely attributed to Aristotle himself.⁶⁰ Meno thus no doubt carried out for the doctors precisely what Theophrastus did for the philosophers. Later Hellenistic doctors were added, and some of this material was absorbed into the philosophical *Placita* (232-3).⁶¹

Diels' theory has been presented, we repeat, only in its broad outlines, with some attention to the chronology involved. Many intermediate links and parallel developments that Diels postulates have been left out. Even so, it will be readily be admitted, the complete picture is complex enough. For a schematic overview of the entire theory it will be useful to consult the diagram presented in Figure 1 on p. 81, in which the chief components of the doxographical tradition are highlighted in bold type and the various affiliations are represented by lines of varying thickness and solidity depending on the importance of the relationship involved.

Finally, in the light of the considerable (and often not very clearly acknowledged) debts that Diels had incurred to his predecessors, a word should be said on the question of originality. It cannot be said emphatically enough that it was Usener who set him on the path.⁶² The thoroughness with which he carried out his assignment, however, went far beyond his teacher's

⁵⁹ But, as we shall see, Diels goes beyond what his limited evidence allows (cf. e.g. below, n. 117).

⁶⁰ Galen believed the work to be by Meno. Diels accepted this; see also Diels (1893b) 407f., 415f.

⁶¹ For a different view of this tradition see now Mansfeld (1992a) 65f., expanded in the Italian version (1993) 312f., with references to the recent literature.

⁶² Cf. Regenbogen again, (1961) 545: 'Man kann wohl nicht sagen, daß die dämonische Instinktsicherheit des genialen Menschen hier den Schöpfer an das Werk gewiesen hat. D. ist sich zeit seines Lebens dessen bewußt geblieben, daß Hermann Usener es war, der ihm die erste große Aufgabe stellte ...'

expectations, and it may be doubted whether Usener would ever have brought his project to such a successful conclusion. We would argue for at least four aspects in which Diels proceeded beyond what had been achieved hitherto.⁶³

(i) The interposition of the *VP* between Theophrastus and the main body of the *Placita* in A, P and S was an idea Diels owed to a suggestion of Usener, who as we have seen stuck to the original hypothesis of a pre-Ciceronian but post-Theophrastean source.⁶⁴ By distinguishing between the common source of S and P on the one hand, and the body of *Placita* available in the time of Cicero, Diels was able to offer an attractive although rather imperfectly worked-out solution to otherwise acute chronological and source-critical problems.

(ii) Through his close examination of the text in S and the distinction he made between three separate doxographical sources Diels was able to offer a much more accurate description of the anthologist's doxographical material. One only has to look at the difference between the Stobaeus editions of Heeren, Gaisford and Meineke on the one hand and Wachsmuth's (whose analysis of which is almost wholly dependent on Diels) on the other, to see what an advance this represented (even if we might question Wachsmuth's wisdom in importing the analysis into the body of the text itself).⁶⁵

(iii) It was thus possible for Diels to provide a much more concrete presentation of the *Placita* tradition by fixing it on Aëtius and his treatise. Before him Aëtius was quite a different figure.⁶⁶ Diels was the first (and so far only one) to give a full reconstruction of what Aëtius' *Placita* collection must have resembled. He was also the first fully to exploit the evidence of T. In its rigour this construct is incomparably superior to the unsophisticated conflation of P, G and S which had been provided, or argued, by earlier scholars.⁶⁷

(iv) But what above all marks a qualitative difference between Diels' achievement and the efforts of his predecessors is the rigorous and precise manner in which he assigned not only the main

⁶³ Cf. our preliminary account above, Ch. 1, §1.

⁶⁴ See above, Ch. 1 text to n. 63; *ibid.* text to n. 197, for the possible contribution of Volkmann.

⁶⁵ More on this below, Ch. 4, p. 203, 210.

⁶⁶ See above, Ch. 1, § 4-5.

⁶⁷ See above, Ch. 1.

sources but also numerous other authors who made partial use of the doxographical material their place in a comprehensive picture of the entire tradition. For all their bombast the words addressed by Werner Jaeger to Diels on the occasion of his fiftieth *Doktor-jubiläum* hit the mark:⁶⁸

Der Riesenstoff war durch vollendete Herrschaft über die Methode bis zur Durchsichtigkeit geschliffen und gefeilt. Es war ein Triumph philologischer Technik, der an die Kühnheit einer Brücken-Konstruktion oder an die präzise Mechanik eines Uhrwerks erinnert. War es bisher eine rohe Empirie gewesen, die Zeugnisse der Überlieferung zu lesen und zu benutzen, so wurde es jetzt zur sicher geregelten Kunst.

It was this astoundingly impressive *Gesamtschau* that was responsible, more than anything else, for the enthusiastic reception which the book received in Germany on its first appearance in 1879.

3. *Is Diels' theory on the right track?*

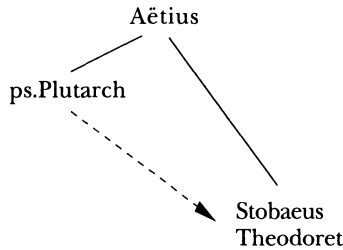
Before we proceed to examine the method used by Diels, a word of evaluation is called for first. Can it be said that the backbone of Diels' theory, as formed by the deduction of Aëtius' *Placita* from ps.Plutarch–ps.Galen–Theodoret–Stobaeus on the one hand and its derivation from an anterior tradition including a *Vetusta Placita* on the other, is on the right track? The authors of this monograph, after a long and thorough examination of all its details, and also taking into account the various possible alternatives that could be given for it, are convinced that this question must be answered in the affirmative. It must immediately be added that the two parts of the theory are of unequal standing. The Aëtian hypothesis, on which we largely concentrate in this volume is more secure than the hypothesis of a *Vetusta Placita* and the further derivation of the main body of the *Placita* from what Diels called Theophrastus' Φυσικῶν δόξαι.⁶⁹

A useful exercise in this context is the attempt to falsify the main thrust of Diels' Aëtian hypothesis. There are three ways in

⁶⁸ Jaeger (1921) 1.35 (we cite the page no. of the reprint). But see below, n. 83 *ad finem*.

⁶⁹ Various elements of the theory of the *Vetusta Placita* have already been examined and revised by Mansfeld (1987), (1989a), (1989b), (1990a), (1992a).

which this can be attempted. The first is the possibility that contamination might have taken place between the main branches of the sources who preserve parts of Aëtius. This can schematically be represented as follows:



Such contamination would not actually destroy Diels' hypothesis, but certainly would make the reconstruction of the original A less reliable, since whenever P and S agreed, we would have to take into account that S might have replaced A by P. It is certainly true that in the course of the centuries ps.-Plutarch's collection of *Placita* became quite a popular book, whereas the compendium of Aëtius appears to have remained rather rare. It is therefore theoretically possible, though inherently unlikely, that Stobaeus, while excerpting Aëtius, might have been influenced by recollection or even consultation of P. There simply does not seem to be any intelligent reason why an anthologist who rejoices in the use of an extensive compendium should at the same time make use of an abbreviated version. Another possibility, which is inherently more likely, is that the manuscript tradition of S was contaminated by P as a result of the latter's popularity. We shall see that this indeed did happen, but only on a limited and easily detected scale.⁷⁰ As for Theodoret, as we saw above, on three occasions he mentions Aëtius and (ps.)Plutarch in the same sentence. On one occasion (2.112, cf. 3.6) he actually cites P, referring to a brief passage at the beginning of 1.7. Nevertheless it is far from clear that he even possessed a copy of P, because this passage has almost certainly been lifted from Eusebius.⁷¹ There is no positive evidence in T of contamination between A and P. This would in fact be very difficult to detect on account of the paraphrasing

⁷⁰ See further below Ch. 4, p. 267ff.

⁷¹ I.e. from *PE* 14.16.1. Both E and T have the *falsa lectio* Μιλήσιος.

manner of adaptation that T uses.⁷² As in the case of S, even if T had made direct use of both A and P, this would not destroy the basis of Diels' hypothesis, but would make the practical task of reconstruction of A more difficult and its results more tentative.

A second way to undermine Diels' theory is to show that S uses a mixture of doxographical sources which cannot be distinguished from each other. This would make it impossible, in the case of material not found in P, to identify what goes back to A and what comes from elsewhere. We shall argue below that it *is* possible to separate the three main sources in the manner as undertaken by Diels. Only in the case of very short lemmata does his method break down. But these are only of minor importance.

The final way to falsify Diels' thesis is the most radical. One may try to undermine the conclusion that the source behind P, S and T is the doxographer Aëtius who lived in the first century CE. Here Diels' theory is at its most vulnerable, since this personage is only known to us through the reports in Theodoret quoted above. In a sense of course the name of Aëtius is quite unimportant, since he is little more than a name. There is, however, an important difference between (1) accepting this obscure name and trying to find a suitable place for the man it denotes and (2) eliminating the name and trying to attach the doxographical source which he represents to another person or philosophical tradition.

This last strategy—as well as the other two—has been recently attempted by the Russian scholar Andrei Lebedev, who argues that Aëtius is no more than a phantom, a lapse of the pen on the part of Theodoretus. The doxographical document represented by the parallel passages in ps.Plutarch and Stobaeus is to be attributed to the Alexandrian philosophers Eudorus and Arius Didymus.⁷³ It is clear that if Lebedev is right, then Diels' hypothesis is radically flawed and our own project, to the extent that it follows Diels, cannot be successful. The reader will not be surprised to learn, however, that we are not in the least impressed by Lebedev's arguments, which are presented in a tendentious (and sometime shoddy) way and can in every case be adequately refuted. We have decided briefly to present and comment on his case in an appendix to Chapter seven, i.e. after we have presented our own

⁷² As explained and illustrated below in Ch. 5, §3–4.

⁷³ Lebedev (1984), (1988).

conclusions on the extent to which Diels' theory has to be modified and further developed.

4. *General reflections on Diels' theory, its aims and methods:
stematology and synoptical presentation*

But before we embark on our own independent examination of the tradition of the *Placita*, it will be useful to make some comments on the aims and methods used by Diels in his great work. These will help to place some of its features in perspective, and also offer a necessary background for the methods that we will be using in our own research.

(1) Diels' research is informed by a particular *conception of philology as a rigorous science* which is never overtly expressed and can only be articulated by bringing its unstated assumptions out into the open. Its aim is above all to impose clarity and lucidity on transmitted material that, as he believes, through incompetence or misfortune has become confused, deformed, inaccurate, imprecise. We recall the image 'jungle versus cultivation' in Diels' dedicatory letter to Usener.⁷⁴ It would be wrong, however, to think in terms of an 18th century ideal of rational enlightenment. Diels is a child of the 19th century with a strongly developed sense of history and historical development. His primary aim is *bloß [zu] zeigen, wie es eigentlich gewesen*, to use the famous (and often misunderstood) formula of Ranke, although he does not scorn the other, more traditional offices (*Aemter*) which were rejected by Ranke, viz. *die Vergangenheit zu richten* and *die Mitwelt zum Nutzen zukünftiger Jahren zu belehren*.⁷⁵ This does not mean he should stand accused of naïveté. Diels is sharply aware of the limits of his evidence, but regards his task as that of pushing back those limits as far as he can in the out-and-out quest for scientific knowledge.

(2) In this quest Diels has great confidence in the power and efficacy of certain *philological techniques*. The first half of the nineteenth century saw an important development in classical

⁷⁴ Above, text to n. 33. Cf. also Regenbogen (1961) 551: 'Licht, klar, übersichtlich, so sollte es [according to Diels] aussehen in der Welt der Wissenschaft.' There is an interesting conflict here between the general aim of lucidity and what we have above called the 'subtly obfuscatory presentation' of the *DG*'s 'Prolegomena'.

⁷⁵ For this statement of Ranke see the interesting pages of Bann (1984) 8ff.

and germanistic philology which is usually, though quite simplistically, associated with the figure of Carolus Lachmann. Lachmann, his predecessors and his followers rejected the hitherto customary method of editing texts, which relied more on the editor's *ingenium* and the haphazard consultation of manuscripts whenever the *textus receptus*, or *lectio recepta*, was in doubt, than on the scientific and systematic study of all extant, or at least available, manuscripts.

The task of the Lachmannian critic is threefold: first to *determine* the nature of the text as it is handed down by means of the systematic investigation of the manuscript tradition presented in a *mechanically* reconstructed family tree, or stemma, which shows in what way the extant manuscripts and their hypothetized predecessors relate to each other (*recensere*); secondly to *correct* corruptions that developed in this tradition by the *mechanical* elimination of readings that, on stemmatic grounds, are arguably later and so inferior (*emendare*); and thus, thirdly, to *recover* the original form of the work and record it in an edition (*originem detegere*).⁷⁶ Fundamentally the method can be regarded as the quest for the archetype and other, i.e. later, ancestors of the stemmatically related manuscripts that are extant and the attempt to reconstruct the original from which the archetype derives.

⁷⁶ A detailed and magisterial account of Lachmann's contribution in its historical and philological context at Timpanaro (1981), who proves that in important respects he was dependent on earlier New Testament scholars, and that he was neither the first classical scholar to establish a *stemma codicum* nor the first to use the term *archetypus* in a technical sense. Lacking in this historical overview is an analysis of Scaliger's efforts to work out a classification of groups (one of these groups according to him being descended from a *single* ancestor) as well as independent individual mss. of Jerome's reworked translation of Eusebius' *Chronicle*, for which see Grafton (1993) 514ff. On the revolutionary but soon forgotten reconstruction of the Lucretian tradition by Bernays (1847) (a contribution cavalierly dismissed by Lachmann, to whom Bernays bowed his head) see Timpanaro (1981) 65ff., who argues that Bernays further develops Madvig's pioneering attempt; it is however likely enough that Bernays' familiarity with New Testament studies (see below, Appendix, p. 117–8) also contributed to this breakthrough. Timpanaro's account is corrected on some points by Schmidt (1988) and Glucker (1996). On Lachmann (1793–1851) see further Sandys (1903–08) 3.130, Pfeiffer (1976) 190, Weigel (1989), Unte (1990) 249ff., and on the method and Lachmann's genius for placing himself in the limelight also the account, improving to some degree upon Timpanaro's results (note that Timpanaro (1981) is a revised edition of earlier publications), in Kenney (1974) 98ff., 105ff. (cf. above, n. 36).

Scholars were impressed by the scientific accuracy and certainty that purportedly could be attained by this straightforward and objective method. Today we are of course aware of the fact that the stemmatic technique cannot be applied with equal success to the textual history of all authors, and know that neither *recensio* nor *emendatio* can be purely mechanical processes. But Mommsen, Usener, Nietzsche, Wachsmuth and, following them, Diels subscribed to the crucial assumption that transmission of groups of texts in a tradition (and indeed also of the ideas contained in them) followed a course similar to the vertical history of the manuscripts of a single text. It is thus not for nothing that the basic schema of the *Doxographi Graeci*, as presented in our figure in §2 of this chapter, resembles the genealogical stemma of a manuscript tradition according to the so-called Lachmannian method.⁷⁷

In fairness it should immediately be added that there were strong grounds for applying this method in the case of the doxographical tradition. The division between the textual transmission of a single text and the transmission of the embracing tradition is not and cannot be clear-cut in the case of the doxographical texts investigated by Diels. This is apparent in the stemma that Diels himself prepared for the ps.Plutarchean tradition (*DG* 40), in which both the so-called direct and indirect traditions have to be incorporated. It seemed, indeed, as if the Aëtian tradition furnished a perfect vindication of the stemmatic technique, since it appeared possible to reduce six later texts, or parts of these texts, viz. P S T E G N, to a single archetype, i.e. A. The crucial assumption, again, is that one can follow a purely mechanical and objective method to determine the nature of the original source. The specific contribution of the individual derivative sources is systematically reduced to a minimum.

A second powerful philological technique that Diels extensively exploits is the juxtaposition of passages side by side in tabular form, i.e. parallel columns.⁷⁸ In the 'Prolegomena' this synoptic technique reaches its apotheosis in the famous five columns of the 'Theophrasteorum apud excerptores conspectus' at *DG* 132-44, which forms the very heart of Diels' theory. We should observe

⁷⁷ Cf. above, Ch. 1 n. 2, and see further below.

⁷⁸ See Appendix 'Tabular presentation in antiquity and in nineteenth-century classical philology' at the end of this chapter, p. 111ff.

that 'conspectus' translates the Greek word σύνοψις,⁷⁹ which shows that Diels was entirely aware that the technique he applied with such thundering success is indeed indebted to what had become known as the synoptic method.⁸⁰ And the juxtaposition of columns of text, this time united by an elegant horizontal brace⁸¹ (with apparatus of further excerpts), is of course the form in which he presents Aëtius for nearly two hundred pages. This typographical device, we presume, derives from the presentation of

⁷⁹ To be sure, 'conspectus' meaning 'table of contents' was quite common in scholarly Latin (it is used in this sense at *DG* ix, 'Prolegomenon capitum conspectus'), but the 'Theophrasteorum apud excerptores conspectus' is not a table of contents. The neologistic meaning of 'synopsis' was introduced by Griesbach, see below, n. 90, and still felt as such by Lachmann (1835) 583: 'harmoniarum, quas hodie synopses dicere malunt, conditores' ('those who compose harmonies, or synopses as they are called nowadays,' transl. Palmer). In ancient Greek the word σύνοψις means something different, viz. not 'presentation by means of parallel columns' (cf. below, Appendix, p. 111ff.) but 'comprehensive view', 'general view', 'abstract', 'epitome', 'summary' (see *LSJ*, s.v. and e.g. Plato *Lg.* 9.858c, σύνοψις τῶν νόμων ('review of legislation', transl. Saunders), Strabo 1.2, ἐπὶ τέλει ἔκθεσις σύντομος καὶ τρόπον τινα σύνοψις τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας, τοῦτ' ἔστι τῆς γεωγραφικῆς ἱστορίας), or 'a shorter ...'. Galen wrote a Σύνοψις τῶν Ἡρακλείδου περὶ τῆς ἐμπειρικῆς αἰρέσεως in seven books, still shorter than the work of Heraclides himself (*Libr. propr.*, 19.38 K.) and a Σύνοψις τῆς ἀποδεικτικῆς θεωρίας of his own fifteen-book treatise *On Proof* in one (*Libr. propr.*, 19.45 K.). The term meaning 'abstract', or 'summary', is frequently found not only in Galen but also in later medical writers. Cf. also *Lampe*, s.v. 3, 'brief but comprehensive statement, conspectus'. Two *Synopses* i.e. abstracts of Scripture are extant and attributed to Athanasius (*PG* 28.284-437) and John Chrysostom (*PG* 56.313-86) respectively. Plato's usage at *Resp.* 7.537c, where he mentions the 'comprehensive view' of the mathematical studies *in view of their relationship to each other* and to reality, which is the prerequisite of the study of dialectic, appears to be exceptional. 'Conspectus' in the sense used by Diels *DG* 132 (who did not invent it) is a neologism too, like Griesbach's 'synopsis'. In antiquity 'conspectus' meant 'visibility', 'full view' (Cic. *Varr.* 14), 'comprehensive view', 'survey' (Cic. *Brut.* 15 etc.). 'Conspectus' in the opening words of Gellius' chronographic chapter (for which cf. below, p. 113) comes closest to the modern usage (as at *DG* 132), *NA* 17.21.1: 'ut conspectum quandam aetatum antiquissimarum, item uirorum inlustrium, qui in his aetatibus nati fuissent, haberemus, ne in sermonibus forte inconspicuum aliquid super aetate atque uita clarorum hominum temere diceremus', but still means something like 'comparative survey'.

⁸⁰ It is perhaps no coincidence that this 'conspectus' is given the ὁμαλόσις-position in the 'Prolegomena' as a whole. For one flagrant error in these tables, viz. the ascription (*DG* 140f.) to Theophrastus of a self-contradictory description of Xenophanes' view of the one principle as both earth and something beyond physics see Mansfeld (1987) 289ff.

⁸¹ By an interesting coincidence this resembles the horizontal brace which unites the individual Gospel *Canons* of Eusebius; for the latter see below, Appendix, p. 115f.

stemmata of manuscripts: in nineteenth-century literature it is found above several manuscripts belonging to the same family, and/or on top of and uniting several families.⁸² It is further evidence of the relation between stemmatology and the synoptic method.

An example of the latter, of outstanding relevance because accompanied by an explanation of its purpose, is found in the seminal article on Apollodorus' *Chronika* published by Diels in 1876, the year before he sent in the manuscript of the *DG* to the Academy. Here he indeed shows himself to be fully aware of the relation of the synoptic format to the Lachmannian method, because he explicitly calls the source upon which the two vertically juxtaposed texts are dependent their *archetype*, and he highlights their points of correspondence by a variety of type-faces.⁸³ We may moreover note that already in the report about

⁸² Horizontal brace under the words 'Cod. antiquus deperditus' already in the stemma in Zumpt (1831), reproduced at Timpanaro (1981) 51. Also see e.g. the stemma at Schoene (1866) xxxvii: three braces, with the *siglum* for the archetype on top of the highest one, and the much more complicated ones of the mss. of Symmachus' letters at Seeck (1883) xxxvii (and ccxii) and of the historical works of Jordanes at Mommsen (1882) lxxiif. We have also seen examples of its use in family trees dealing with persons, or in trees of 'succession' (e.g. Urlichs (1848) 228, Mommsen (1882) 142, 'Amali regesque gothorum et ostrogothorum'; Seeck (1883) xl, 'Stemma Symmachorum', cf. *ibid.* lxxvi, xci, clxxv), which presumably is where it started; it is still used today. For Schoene's work see below, n. 88.

⁸³ Diels (1876), not reprinted in Burkert (1969). See Diels (1876) 43ff., two columns with passages from Diogenes Laërtius and Dionysius of Halicarnassus concerned with the chronology of Aristotle's life, with the comment: '[...] hier (richtet) sich unser Augenmerk hauptsächlich auf die Form der Ueberlieferung, Zu dem Behufe stellen wir die beiden Recensionen einander gegenüber und heben den *aus der Vergleichung reconstruierten Archetypus* durch den *Druck* hervor' (our emphasis). These passages are reprinted in two columns as Apollodorus fr. 56 in Jacoby (1902) 316f., with reference to Diels *ibid.* 317, and then as *FGrH* 244F38, but note that Jacoby does not copy Diels' typography and that his own later typography differs from his earlier. For the relation between Diels' two techniques cf. the not entirely clear remark of Jaeger (1952) 410: 'Hermann Diels [...] verwirklichte mit unübertroffener philologischer Kunst die schon von J. Bernays geforderte *synoptische* Edition und *Quellenanalyse* des gesamten Stoffs der antiken Philosophiegeschichtsschreiber in seinen *Doxographi graeci*' (our emphasis). We have not been able to find a passage in Bernays supporting Jaeger's claim (cf. above, Ch. 1, n. 22); perhaps he slipped and said Bernays instead of Usener. It may be observed that Jaeger (1938) 218 n. 1 utters a caveat as to the use of the double columns; though he understands that the curiosity of scholars goes out in the first place to similarities which show that one has used the other, or both a common source, he points out that the differences

the results of his preliminary researches in the letter to Wilamowitz of January 22 1870, he speaks of the 'archetypus' of P and the material in S which as at the time he believed had been used by Philodemus in the *On Piety*, which in its turn would have been used by Cicero in *ND* 1.10ff., and by Varro.⁸⁴

But elsewhere too in the *DG*, starting on the very first page of the 'Prolegomena', the synoptic technique is omnipresent. The reader is supposed to conclude, by a process of easy and unimpeded apprehension,⁸⁵ that there is a direct and significant relation between the passages juxtaposed. This relation is then accepted as evidence for some aspect of the wider theory involving relationships between texts in general. As such, of course, it supplies the main evidence for the relationships which underlie the stemma encapsulating the entire theory. Again, we would emphasize, the process has a *mechanical* aspect: that a direct relation between the juxtaposed passages exists is taken as immediately evident; only on the interpretation of what the relation means is there room for interpretation, or disagreement. Diels was one of the first classical scholars to exploit this technique not only on such a grand scale but also and above all in such a *decisive* and epoch-making manner for *source-critical* purposes.

We may observe, however, that in two papers which Diels had studied and admired the technique had already been applied extensively by Wachsmuth to demonstrate the various ways in which Greek *florilegia* are related to and dependent upon each

are equally important (and heeds his own advice *ibid.* 209ff.).

⁸⁴ Quoted above, text to Ch. 1, n. 27.

⁸⁵ See Calvin's explanation of the purpose of his presentation in parallel columns of the three Gospels that later came to be called 'synoptic' in his *Harmonia ex tribus evangeliiis composita* (1555): 'Sed quia mediocribus ingeniis saepe non facilis est comparatio, ubi huc illuc subinde transeundum est, hoc et gratum et utile fore compendium putavi, si continua serie, tres simul historias [*scil.*, the three synoptic Gospels] digererem, in qua *uno intuitu* cernant lectores, quid simile habent vel diversum' (our emphasis; quoted from De Lang (1993) 25 n. 7). Eusebius' justification of his tabular chronography (for which see below, p. 113) is quite similar, *Chron.* p. 18.15ff. Helm: he has adopted this method so that it would be easy to find out ('ut facilis sit inventio') the Greek and Oriental dates for Hebrew prophets, kings, and priests etc. Note that Calvin as well as his scholarly successors before Griesbach (see below) by no means suggested that the corresponding texts in the columns should be explained by means of a theory concerning the sources. The most recent Gospel synopsis, a masterpiece of scholarship and a splendid example of the printer's art, is Aland (1995¹⁴).

other.⁸⁶ Note that Wachsmuth uses the term 'conspectus' for an overview which is in fact a telescoped synopsis. Friedrich Nietzsche in his source-critical study of Diogenes Laertius (which Diels knew) has short double columns to compare passages in Gellius and Stephanus of Byzantium, Diogenes Laertius and the *Index Academicorum*, the *Souda* and Diogenes Laertius, and double columns stretching over numerous pages to compare Hesychius and Diogenes Laërtius. What is more, Nietzsche provides an upside-down '*stemma* tamquam *genealogicum* Laerti' and a '*stemma*' (our italics) for the tradition from Demetrius of Magnesia (as he believed) to Diogenes Laërtius and the *Suda*, via largely lost intermediary authors among whom Diocles in the one line of descent and Hesychius in the other. This interaction between a stemmatic method and a synoptic presentation of corresponding passages forms the theoretical backbone of Nietzsche's argument.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Wachsmuth (1871-2) = (1882) 5-37, 41-3: double columns, the right column serving as a '*synopsis of corresponding passages*' of no less than four different *florilegia*, 'conspectus locorum congruentium Ioannis Dasmasceni, Stobaei, Antonii, Maximi'; Wachsmuth (1871a) = (1882) 86-7, four columns. These papers are discussed at Diels (1872)—see above, Ch. 1 text to n. 49—who is explicit about the columns, p. 190: one of Wachsmuth's great accomplishments is that he 'die einschlagenden titel der Damaskenischen parallela sacra, des Antonios-Maximos und des Stobäos mit grossem fleisse aufgesucht und *anschaulich daneben gestellt* hat' (our emphasis; also note Diels' admiration in his letter to Usener of November 27 1871 at Ehlers (1992) 1.46). One should observe that Wachsmuth does not write out passages but juxtaposes chapter-titles in the *florilegia* or names of authors to whom a given passage is attributed. Another example Diels had seen (cf. *DG* 122, where he mentions the booklet) is Lengnick's table (1871) 9 comparing corresponding passages from Philodemus with passages from Cicero, presented 'quia ad eiusmodi rerum intellectum facilius obtutu oculorum pervenimus'; cf. also below, p. 119, for an important example in Zeller Diels knew.

⁸⁷ Nietzsche (1868-9) at Bornmann and Carpitella (1982) 95f., 139, 147, 148ff., 157ff. (columns); 138, 167 (stemmata). For Diels on this paper see *DG* 161ff. (characteristic left-over, cf. above, n. 7, from ms. version of *DG* at p. 161: 'De Laertii Diogenis fontibus qui ante hos novem [*sic* for 'undecim/decem' if referring to its date of publication] scribere coepit F. Nietzscheus'. In fact Nietzsche started work two years before the publication of this paper, see above Ch. 1, n. 41). This study of Nietzsche, like those of Bernays and Diels (see above, Ch. 1, n. 41), was the result of a prize contest, in 1866. The theme was set by Leipzig University on Ritschl's advice, see Nietzsche's letter to Hermann Mushacke (November 1866) at Colli and Montinari (1986) 2.182f: 'Du weißt, daß ich mich mit Laertius Diogenes beschäftigt habe und beschäftige, auch mit Ritschl hier und da einmal darüber gesprochen habe. Vor einigen Wochen fragte er mich ganz mysteriös, ob ich wohl, wenn von einer anderen Seite eine Aufforderung käme, einmal über die Quellen des Diog. Laert. schreiben möchte: was ich natürlich mit Freuden bejahte.

Whether or not his source-analysis is successful (it is not) is beside the point.

A few years earlier Alfred Schoene had published a huge synoptic edition, dedicated to Theodor Mommsen and Friedrich Ritschl, of the extant Armenian and Latin versions and the Greek fragments of the *Canons* of Eusebius (on the analogy of Origen's *Hexapla*, we may perhaps call this a *Tripla*). Here the Greek fragments are separated from the two translations by a vertical bar.⁸⁸

Yet after the appearance of the *DG* the technique becomes even more popular in the field of classical studies, though at first in Germany only.⁸⁹

Vor einigen Tagen erschienen die Preisthemata der Universität, und das erste, auf das mein Auge fällt, lautet „De fontibus Diogenis Laertii”.

⁸⁸ Schoene (1866), remarkable for its time but now obsolete. This work, it should be noted, used the *synoptic* format *throughout*: on the left-hand page the Armenian version translated into Latin by Petermann, with to its left a column of purported fragments of Eusebius' original text quoted from a variety of later Greek sources, and on the right-hand page Jerome's [amplified] Latin translation edited by Schoene. The ultimate model, therefore, is text + translations (for the *Hexapla* see below, Appendix, p. 111f.). As we see the format of the edition of Aëtius in the *DG* is not that much different from Schoene's reconstructed Eusebius (cf. also above, Ch. 1, n. 60, for an earlier version as projected by Diels). Schoene's work, perhaps typically, is not cited in the *DG* but still forms the source of the Eusebian chronographic A-fragments in the *VS* (see Mansfeld (1979) 66 ff.). There is a (critical) reference to Schoene (1866) in Diels' study of Apollodorus' *Chronicle* (1876) 18 n. 2, and another one *ibid.* 47 n. 1. In Schoene (1875) the evidence for the first book of Eusebius (the *Chronographia*) is presented in two columns on each page, viz. the Latin translation of the Armenian version to the left, and Greek fragments from a variety of sources to the right. Schoene (1836-1918), who received his doctorate at Leipzig in 1859, studied with Jahn at Bonn in 1861; his name occurs a few times in the letters at Ehlers (1992). We may observe that the Greek parallels for Jerome collected by the great Scaliger in the *Thesaurus temporum* (1606) are not printed in a column parallel to Jerome's text but given separately.

⁸⁹ Both Wilamowitz' pupil Maass (1880) and Diels' friend Wilamowitz (1881) make extensive use of the synoptic method in their studies on the biographical tradition, which appeared straight after the *DG* (cf. Wilamowitz' letter, quote above Ch. 1, text to n. 206). Wilamowitz' book on Antigonos of Carystus, much easier to read than the *DG*, made a great impression and is still indispensable. We must however note that in the first volume of Gelzer's study of Julius Africanus' chronography (see below, p. 119), which was published in the same year as Maass' book, the method is used for source-critical purposes as well (instances of double, triple, and quadruple columns of corresponding texts); see e.g. p. 69: 'betrachten wir die verschiedenen Recensionen und Auszüge, welche mit Sicherheit oder Wahrscheinlichkeit auf seine [i.e. Africanus'] Chronographie zurückgehen'. Interesting is the case of Hirzel's great trilogy on the sources of Cicero's philosophical writings. In volume 1 (1877) there are no double columns at all, but in

Without any doubt, classics in this case too is ultimately indebted to the scholarly study of the New Testament. The German theologian Johann Jacob Griesbach (1745-1812), who was the first to use the term 'synopsis' in the technical sense described above, was also the first to argue from the corresponding passages in the synoptically presented Gospels to the problem of these correspondences as a question of *sources*: he believed that Mark is for the most part an excerpt from Matthew and Luke. We should also observe that his account of the classification of the manuscripts of the New Testament firmly places him among the practitioners of a proto-stemmatic method.⁹⁰ The Griesbach source hypothesis has been refined and even drastically modified in many ways, but his comparatist and source-critical approach still dominates New Testament studies, and Gospel synopses are believed to show, for instance, in what way Matthew and Luke are dependent on Mark as well as on a lost common source called 'Q' (for 'Quelle').⁹¹ The

volumes 2-3 (1882-3) they are, albeit very sparingly, used (cf. 2.698, 3.138). Gercke (1886) 270-7 uses parallel columns for the 'übereinstimmende Stücke' in ps.Plut. *De fato* and Calcidius; cf. also *ibid.* 281, 285f. (three columns).

⁹⁰ Griesbach first published the influential edition of what he called the historical books of the New Testament as a synopsis ('synopsin sistens') which, as he explicitly pointed out, was not a 'harmony', in 1774 (repr. 1776 and later—with revisions and additions—as the *Synopsis Evangeliorum Matthaei, Marci et Lucae*), and the paper in which he argued his source theory in 1789 (translated in Orchard and Longstaff (1978) 103ff.), in part anticipated in a paper published in 1783; see De Lang (1993) 260ff. On the theories concerning Mark from the eighteenth century see Stoldt (1977); on Griesbach and what came after see further Reicke (1978), (1984), (1990), Greeven (1978), De Lang (1993) 259ff. Revising and combining the views of predecessors like the great Richard Bentley (see Kenney (1974) 100f., Timpanaro (1981) 22ff.), who believed critical inquiry would be able to reconstruct the text as it was at the time of the Council of Nicaea, and J. A. Bengel (see Timpanaro (1981) 24ff., Aland and Aland (1987) 9), Griesbach also argued that the manuscripts of the New Testament are to be divided into three families; these he believed to be ultimately derived from the Bible text of Origen (as we now know no such text existed because the references were added from a variety of manuscripts by those who worked out the dictated commentaries, see Preuschen (1905)). See further Metzger (1968) 119ff., Kilpatrick (1978).

⁹¹ On 'Q' see e.g. Stoldt (1974) 107ff., Neirynck (1982), Koester (1990) 128ff., and Neirynck's synoptic ed. of 'Q' from Matthew and Luke (1988). For the extremely intricate *status quaestionis* or rather *quaestionum* of the synoptic problem see the papers at Dungan (1990) 3-288 and Van Segbroek & al. (1992); Schmithals' book (1985) is a good introduction. A Q database is in progress, see Anderson (1996), with useful historical and systematic introduction p. vff. In our present context we cannot and fortunately need not deal with the fascinating topic of the study of the problematic interrelations of the Gospels in antiquity (see Merkel (1971) and the texts collected in Merkel

influential Lachmann himself, in a famous article, intervened in this discussion; rejecting the Griesbach hypothesis he postulated a common oral or written source for the three synoptic Gospels and argued that Mark followed the narrative sequence of this source more closely than either of the others.⁹² This surely is an application of the stemmatic method to source criticism. Through a series of wilful interpretations or misunderstandings of the thesis of this paper Lachmann's analysis contributed to the hypothesis (an inverted mirror-image of that of Griesbach) that Mark is the oldest Gospel and was used by Matthew and Luke which became the standard view by the mid-nineteenth century.⁹³ What is also important to note is that Lachmann in this article, reprinted (except for the beginning) in the preface to the second volume of his edition of the New Testament in 1850, used the method of presentation in two parallel columns to set out the differences between Mark and Matthew in the narrative order of corresponding passages.⁹⁴

(1978))—e.g. Tatian's (lost) *Diatesseron* which was a harmony of four Gospels (and so was what in Antiquity was called a cento, see Mansfeld (1992b) 153ff.), the lost synopsis (though this is not the term used) of the four canonical Gospels by Ammonius all too briefly described in Eusebius' *Epistula ad Carpianum* and Eusebius' own *Canones* (see below, Appendix, p. 115f.), and Augustine's perceptive treatise in four books *De consensu Evangelistarum*, in which Mark is viewed as the epitomator ('breviator', *De cons. ev.* 1.4, p. 4.13 Wehrich) of Matthew and the latter therefore is considered to be the *source* of the former. If the modern hypothesis that Matthew and Luke are dependent on Mark and Q is accepted, it follows that these two Gospels are already in effect Gospel harmonies. As a preliminary Tatian presumably composed a synopsis in Greek which served as the basis for his harmony (see Baarda (1980) 332). Because he had to work with at least four different texts, his task can usefully be compared with that of Stobaeus who as a first step coalesced items in different chapters of Aëtius and as a next 'harmonized' these with abstracts from Arius Didymus and a number of other sources (see further below, Ch. 4, p. 209ff.). For the late medieval Gospel harmony of Gerson see De Lang (1991), for modern harmonies Wünsch (1983), De Lang (1993), also for references to the literature. Note that before Griesbach what are now called synopses were designated harmonies (cf. above, nn. 69, 75).

⁹² Lachmann (1835), i.e. four years after the 1st printing of his edition of the New Testament (Berlin, 1837²); see Palmer (1966-7) and Farmer (1967-8). It is to be noted that Lachmann takes up suggestions made by earlier scholars and writers: in 1784 Lessing's hypothesis of an *Ur*-Gospel had been published, while in 1794 J. G. Eichhorn had stated a dilemma: either the Gospels derive from a common source (as he himself preferred), or they depend on each other; see Stoldt (1974) 9, 31, 137ff.

⁹³ See Stoldt (1977) 137ff. on Weiß's misinterpretation of Lachmann and its consequences.

⁹⁴ Lachmann (1835) 574ff.

Both the Theophrastean conspectus and the Aëtius texts as printed by Diels in the *DG* indeed strongly resemble a modern Gospel synopsis; maybe this explains part of the attraction the work held for Zeller, who was not only a historian of philosophy but also a trained theologian, with important theological publications to his credit. From 1843 to 1857 Zeller had been editor of the *Theologische Jahrbücher*, and he was entirely familiar with the on-going discussion concerning the synoptic Gospels. Furthermore, he knew its use in classical philology and, though sparingly, had used it himself.⁹⁵

Through the expert use of these two interrelated techniques, which so to speak had already been symbiotically associated with each other in the minds of scholars such as Griesbach and Lachmann, Diels at any rate was able to satisfy his readers that he had raised his researches to the level of scientific certainty within the constraints of his evidence. We recall the 'Fundament von unangreifbarer Objektivität' as expressed in the verdict of Regensbogen cited above, and it has remained the *opinio communis* ever since. Both these techniques involved the objective use of a quasi-mechanical procedure. To this extent—but it is not the full story, as we shall see—Jaeger was perhaps more correct than he realized when he compared Diels' achievement to the mechanism of a clock.⁹⁶ The learned public was prepared because its members were familiar with (or in some cases had even practised) stemmatology as well as synoptic confrontation. When Diels in his letter of July 10 1872 set out his provisional synoptic 'Schema' of the texts for the reconstructed Aëtius, Usener in his letter of reply expressed no surprise at all and only suggested modifications 'for practical reasons'.⁹⁷

(3) It would be one-sided, however, to put all the emphasis on the mechanical side of Diels' method, as if only the *recensio* stage and a rigid version of the *emendatio* stage of the Lachmannian method were employed. As Zeller pointed out in the opening sentence of his *Gutachten* for the Prussian Academy, Diels not only elucidated the interrelationships of the various *Placita*-collections, but went beyond the Berlin *Preisfrage* in providing *complete*

⁹⁵ For a number of early examples in Zeller see below, p. 119.

⁹⁶ Quoted above, text to n. 68.

⁹⁷ See above, Ch. 1, n. 60 and text thereto.

editions of these works.⁹⁸ In these editions the manuscripts are collated (often imperfectly or at second hand) and to a limited degree stemmatically analysed. But a very great deal of scope is allowed for a less mechanical and consequently much improved variety of the second stage of Lachmann's method, the process of *emendatio*. Through the examination of striking examples Diels determines for every source of A the quality of the text that the author had at his disposal.⁹⁹ This judgment is influential in determining the extent to which emendation should be practised on the text. Moreover the variety of readings in the various texts give Diels, who was generously endowed with the gift of textual divination,¹⁰⁰ the opportunity to introduce a large number of emendations in the text of A (and the other authors).

On this basis Diels proceeded to apply the third move of the Lachmannian method, *originem detegere*, to the case of Aëtius himself, but did so in a half-hearted fashion. He reconstructed the appearance of the lost work, and introduced many emendations. But he chose not to publish a single unified text, but rather presented it as a synopsis in two columns, the one approximating to P, the other to S. This aspect of his book, which as we shall see is methodologically flawed, will preoccupy us at length in volume two of our study.

(4) Diels' 'positive quest for scientific knowledge' is not only based on the results of powerful philological instrumentaria, but is furthermore guided by an equally significant *assumption*.¹⁰¹ The

⁹⁸ Again we quote in full from the unpublished ms.: 'Die Arbeit, welche u[nter] d[em] T[itel] Corpus Placitorum und mit dem Motto Tardi ingenii est usw., in drei Bände vertheilt, eingieng, überschreitet die von der K[öniglichen] Akademie gestellte Aufgabe, da sie nicht bloß "den Ursprung u[nd] die Abfassungszeit der plutarchischen Placita, ihr Verhältniß zu den verwandten Darstellungen, die für sie benützten Quellen u[nd] die Art ihrer Benützung untersucht", sondern *eine vollständige kritische Ausgabe* aller aus dem Alterthum überlieferten Sammlungen der Lehren der Philosophen u[nd] der auf solche Sammlungen zurückzuführenden Bruchstücke beabsichtigt, der im 1. Bande die Untersuchung über die Quellen, den Ursprung, die Abfassungszeit u[nd] das Verhältniß jener Sammlungen in der Form von Progelomenen vorangeschickt ist' (our emphasis).

⁹⁹ E.g. *DG* 7ff. (E), 12 (Cyril), 13ff. (G), 47 (T), 50-5 (examples of scribal errors in S and P), 62 (P), 63 (S).

¹⁰⁰ Witness his later editions of lacunose texts on papyrus, though it should be noticed that his supplements often are incompatible with the papyrological evidence.

¹⁰¹ As we have seen in the previous chapter this assumption is already at the basis of the Bonn and the Berlin contests.

motto of the work, to which we already saw Wilamowitz draw attention, is a line of Cicero (*De orat.* 2.117), *tardi ingenii est rivulos consecrari, fontes rerum non videre*. The metaphor here is the spring or fountain, which splits into rivulets (and ultimately rivers), which cannot but be sullied compared with the purity of the source. The motto looks at the matter from the view of explorer (and then colonizer), such as Diels thought himself to be. But it is also possible to take the perspective of the user of the source, and then the result is quite different. It could not be more trenchantly expressed than in the words of Richard Harder: 'Das Wasser der Quelle is lauter; wer aus ihr schöpft, trübt sie.'¹⁰² Diels' assumption, widely held from Winckelmann onwards and still not seldom encountered in the realm of classical scholarship, is that the older and more 'original' an idea or a text is, the better and purer it is, i.e. closer to the 'limpid fount' of the Hellenic genius. According to Diels Aristotle and Theophrastus already perceived that their culture was growing old, so they set about recording and analysing what had been achieved, before it was lost forever.¹⁰³ Thereafter it is downhill all the way. The doxographical tradition only has value, for the most part, to the extent that it preserves the original Theophrastean material. By the time one gets down to the Patristic period almost everything is debased or defiled, even if it is conceded that some authors are more diligent in preserving the remaining gems than others. It is the duty of modern scholars, by dint of hard labour, wide reading, and the application of a sound scientific method, to purify the stream and to the extent possible return, *via ac ratione*, to the *fontes rerum*, as exhorted by Cicero.

Moreover, it is only with this assumption at the back of our minds that we are in a position to understand Diels' consistently acerbic attitude to the texts and authors he is analysing. Ps.-Plutarch is a *tenebrio* ('creature of the dark'), trying to make money out of other people's efforts, concealing his inner vacuity with the outward splendour of a parrot (*DG* 65). Aëtius is like a *mango* ('market salesman'), meretriciously adulterating his wares

¹⁰² Harder (1960) 327, in an article less well-known than it should be, criticizing the metaphor of the 'source'.

¹⁰³ *DG* 102, the thesis of Usener. Compare for instance Wilamowitz on the *Iliad* as an artichoke from which later layers have to be stripped away in order to arrive at the genuine article, the 'Ur-Ilias' (references at Bierl & al. (1991) 3f., also to the contrary view of Gilbert Murray).

with inferior material (*DG* 60), and so on.¹⁰⁴ The term repeatedly used by Diels is the pejorative *fraus*. Even Cicero does not escape this condemnation; in his discussion of *ND* 1.25-41 Diels speaks of his 'fraudenta levitas' (*DG* 121). This terminology is reminiscent of and may well be inspired by the vocabulary of contempt used to characterize the scribes of medieval manuscripts in the pre-critical period, and even as late as Cobet.¹⁰⁵ A fine example is given during the explanation of Stobaeus' method, when Diels has shown how he coalesces *placita* of A into clusters of *doxai* attributed to the same original author (*DG* 68, our emphasis):¹⁰⁶

nobis Aëtium restituturis *fraude aperta* sic agere placuit ut luxata ac male conglutinata membra colligeremus et in rectum ordinem reduceremus...

The scholar, having exposed the fraudulent practice of the compiler, can now go ahead and restore the original work to its right order. This really amounts to *die Vergangenheit richten* and *die Mitwelt zum Nutzen zukünftiger Jahren zu belehren*. But why, we may ask, is Stobaeus' procedure a case of deceitful conduct? Perhaps, Diels might say, because the source is not acknowledged. We would argue, however, that a deeper motivation lies behind the accusation. Stobaeus has adulterated his source by the mere fact of adapting it to his own purposes, i.e. he has introduced by his own capricious behaviour a new *rivulus*, which separates the later reader even further from the original *fons*.

(5) This *severity* of Diels' judgments, which no reader of the *DG* can fail to notice, might be regarded as no more than an example of prejudices which were already starting to go out of date at the time Diels wrote. But it has a highly significant consequence. Naturally Diels is too good a scholar not to take some account of the various purposes for which authors exploited the *Placita*, even if he finds these hardly worthy of respect. This does not alter the

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Diels' letter to Wilamowitz, Braun & al. (1995b) 60, dated January 1 1880: 'ein Kerl [...] wie Aetius, der ja [...] ohne Verstand u[nd] selbständ[iger] philosoph[ischer] Auffassung ein 200 Jahre älteres Buch klein macht'.

¹⁰⁵ See Kenney (1974) 121. In a similar way Nietzsche (1868-9) speaks of Diogenes Laertius as a *fur* (thief) and of Diocles, the source he believed Diogenes Laertius to have plundered on a large scale, as 'purissimus [...] ditissimusque Laertii fons' at Bornmann and Carpitella (1982) 84, 90; cf. Barnes (1986) 20.

¹⁰⁶ Another key term is *audacia*, e.g. *DG* 43 on Ach.

fact, however, that he consistently thinks of the tradition in terms of a single stock, valuable only because it represents as close as one will get to the *Wie-es-eigentlich-gewesen*, but which always becomes adulterated to a greater or lesser degree. He thus pays very little attention to the patently *fluctuating nature* of the doxographical tradition as a whole. Because authors are always appropriating material and adapting it for their own purposes, the stream of the tradition does not remain static, but is continually changing, swollen with extra material, sometimes reduced to the thinnest trickle, then swollen again.¹⁰⁷ To this extent the recension is what we now call an 'open' one, and on precisely this head the Lachmannian method proves insufficient.

(6) A further aspect of Diels' theory which deserves attention is indicated by *the title* of the *opus magnum*. If it was a bold move to base this on a neologism, the audacity was certainly amply rewarded, for the terms 'doxographer' and 'doxography' have passed into general use in classical and patristic scholarship, to the extent that there is even an article on 'Doxographie' in the *Realenzyklopädie für Antike und Christentum*.¹⁰⁸ It is perhaps not entirely clear whether the word 'doxographus' was actually coined by Diels, or first suggested by Usener.¹⁰⁹ What is remarkable is that Diels never devotes any attention to explaining, or stating explicitly, what he means by it, even in the correspondence with Usener. From its use in the title and in the second line of the dedicatory letter to Usener onwards the term is taken to be self-explanatory. Presumably the term *doxographus* is coined on the analogy with and in opposition to the word *biographus*, itself also a neologism but of longer standing.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ See above, Introduction p. xix.

¹⁰⁸ Wyss (1959). But there is no lemma in the *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*.

¹⁰⁹ Doubts on this score—which to us seem unfounded—at Pfeiffer (1968) 84 = (1978) 112 n. 51; the available evidence points to Diels.

¹¹⁰ For the contrast with biography the originally planned division of labour between Usener (and then Diels) as editors of ps.Plutarch etc. and Nietzsche (and then Wachsmuth) as editors of Diogenes Laertius etc. may have played a part, see above, Ch. 1, n. 54. Diels at Ehlers (1992) 1.138, letter of July 22 1877, giving no details, writes that the word *dogmatographos* had recently been found in an inscription; this of course was a confirmation *ex post facto*. But δογματογράφος for which *LSJ s.v.* provides several epigraphical examples means 'drafter of decrees', so it is not surprising that Diels never appealed to this evidence again. The neologism is of doubtful purity, since in ancient Greek δοξογράφος (had it existed) would have meant either 'a

Although it is difficult for us, acquainted as we are with the research done on ancient literary genres, not to think of ‘doxography’ in generic terms, this was certainly not Diels’ main approach. In the *DG* he uses only the term ‘doxographus’, not ‘doxographia’ or ‘doxographicus’, and appears to use it chiefly to describe writers engaged in a particular way of presenting ancient philosophy, i.e. what he believes to be the topic-centred method of Theophrastus. Only when discussing the compendium of Hippolytus, *Ref.* I, does he speak of generic differences, arguing that the structure of the work can only explained if it is seen to be conflated from two sources, ‘unum ex *genere* διαδοχῶν, alterum dogmatum’ (our emphasis),¹¹¹ while in the case of Diogenes Laertius he speaks of double accounts of tenets, by which he means ‘bio-doxographies’ (i.e. thin overviews of *dogmata* purveyed by biographers) and more substantial ‘doxographies’ proper, though without using these actual terms (*DG* 163).¹¹²

seeming writer’ or ‘someone writing about reputation’. In 1839-51 von Leutsch and Schneidewin had published their *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* (‘paroemiographus’ is a neologism too), and in 1873 R. Hercher published his *Epistolographi Graeci* (n.b.: the word ἐπιστολογράφος itself is not a neologism, but the meaning given to it by Hercher is new, see below). These titles may have inspired *Doxographi Graeci*. The Latin equivalent of the German word ‘Doxographie’ is not found in the *DG*. Diels did not start to use it until his Strato paper (1893a) 101 (= Burkert (1969) 239), where he speaks of Aëtius’ ‘Dogmen-Sammlung’, and states: ‘Der Parallelismus der medizinischen und philosophischen Doxographie erschien mir schon bei Beginn meiner Arbeiten auf diesem Felde bemerkenswert’. We note that the substantive βιογραφία occurs for the first time in Photius (Damasc., *Vita Isid.*), cod. 181.126a5 and 242.335b14. So neither βιογράφος nor δοξογράφος are attested as ancient, though a surprising number of formations in -γράφος existed, e.g. βιβλιογράφος (‘scribe’, often in Galen’s Hippocratic commentaries), γεωγράφος, γλωσσογράφος (rare, but e.g. Strabo 13.1.19.20), ἐπιστολογράφος (‘writer of letters’ i.e. ‘secretary’, Procop. *Anecd.* 16.7.1 and on inscriptions from the 2nd. cent. CE, see *LSJ* s.v.), ιαμβογράφος (late and rare), ιστοριογράφος (of which an instance occurs at P 4.1.6), κωμωδιογράφος (rare, but e.g. Polyb. 12.13.7), λογογράφος (early and frequent), μελογράφος (late and rare), μυθογράφος, νομογράφος (Plato, *Phaedr.* 278e, otherwise late and rare), πορνογράφος (not pornographer but ‘whore-painter’), σατυρογράφος (*hapax* at D.L. 5.85), σιλλογράφος, ταχυγράφος (‘stenographer’, late; good Attic would be ἐς τάχος γράφει etc.), τεχνογράφος, τραγωδιογράφος (rare, but at Diod. Sic. 14.48.5), χρονογράφος (late). Words in -γράφος continued to be created in Byzantine times, often referring to specific literary genres (cf. already κωμωδιογράφος etc.) so in a way Diels follows a trend.

¹¹¹ *DG* 145; for a detailed refutation of Diels’ analysis and copious references to earlier discussions see Mansfeld (1992b) 2ff.

¹¹² See the critical account of Mejer (1978) 83ff.

Once again we see that Diels is not so interested in the formal side of his material, because the main thrust of his research is to establish the *reliability* of the historical information offered, as tested through comparison with the presumed original Theophrastean source of these doublets. It is very revealing that when he, following Usener, claims the *De sensibus* for the Φυσικῶν δόξαι and so turns it into a large fragment,¹¹³ he says nothing about the manifest differences as to form and contents between this piece and the later doxographical material, e.g. at Aëtius *ap.* P 4.8. At the very least, these differences are as interesting and impressive as the similarities. And there is one most important similarity which he failed to see: though he deals explicitly with the diaeretic structure of the *De sens.*,¹¹⁴ he failed to notice that the same structure is to be found in numerous Aëtian chapters. The use of the word δόξαι at three places is for him enough to place the *De sens.* among the 'doxographorum coetus'.

(7) It has already been noted above how much Diels was indebted to his *Doktorvater* Usener, who had himself sketched out the main lines of research, but encouraged his pupil to fill in the details and bring the project to completion.¹¹⁵ The theory of the central role of Theophrastus' Φυσικῶν δόξαι as *fons et origo* of the *Placita* is taken over without modification. Even Usener's fragment collection is fully included,¹¹⁶ though Diels must have known, to mention the most flagrant example, that fr. 12 was almost certainly out of place.¹¹⁷ Usener's influence, fertile and

¹¹³ For the contents see Baltussen (1993) 195 ff., for the form Mansfeld (1996).

¹¹⁴ *DG* 105.

¹¹⁵ See above, Ch. 1, §2.

¹¹⁶ See above, n. 54.

¹¹⁷ Cf. the tactful discussion at *DG* 106f. Diels was caught between the devil and the deep blue sea, since his patron Zeller had exposed a difficulty in his teacher Usener's thesis by insisting (Zeller 1876b) that the arguments attributed to Theophrastus at Philo, *Aet.* 117-49, are directed against Zeno of Citium (cf. *SVF* I 106-106a). Diels after sending in his manuscript to the Academy tried to work out a reply and asked Usener for his advice, letter of March 22 1887 at Ehlers (1992) 1.124. Arguing against Diels' defense of the fragment at *DG*, *loc. cit.*, Zeller (1880a) stuck to his guns and explicitly posited (p. 106) that because the Φυσικαὶ δόξαι (as he always calls the work!) only went as far as Plato, the text in Philo must derive from another treatise. Jacob Bernays in the two letters appended to the reprint of Zeller (1880a) in Leuze (1910) 225ff. argued that Theophrastus had Presocratic doctrines in mind (Diels some time later heard of of these letters, see at Ehlers (1992) 1.207: 'Bernays hat Zeller geschrieben, wie es scheint, mehr

indispensable though it was, in fact had the effect of causing a *blind spot* in Diels' approach, which in retrospect was of great significance for the development of his theory.¹¹⁸ It is certainly not our intention covertly to accuse him of intellectual cowardice. Rather we mean to point out how every important piece of research is embedded in a particular scholarly context, which at a later period may (or perhaps should) no longer be so obvious for those who use those results in the furtherance of their own efforts.

(8) Finally we should note that Diels never published a *revised edition* of his youthful masterpiece, in contrast to his later great work, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, of which he prepared no less than four editions. There is ample evidence to show that he did keep a lookout for material that could be added to his argument or enable it to be refined. His *Handexemplar* of the *DG* contains numerous marginalia and other minor additions, including references to the secondary literature. Bound with it is a letter from his publisher De Gruyter dated July 29 1914, i.e. only a few days before the beginning of the first world war, in which Diels learns that only 20 copies are left of the first printing and is asked whether he considers publishing a revised second edition.¹¹⁹

in meinem Sinne'). We cannot enter into this issue here and only note that the Philonic text in Fortenbaugh & al. (1992) has not been included in the section entitled 'Doxography on nature' but forms a section on its own, viz. 'The eternity of the universe' (F 184).

¹¹⁸ See Mansfeld (1992a) 67ff. and the expanded Italian version (1993) 313ff. for the decisive influence of Aristotle, who so to speak was Theophrastus' *Doktorvater*, on the structure and, in several cases, even the contents of the *Placita*. The great majority of Aristotle's *pragmateiai* have been preserved, while of Theophrastus' *Physics* and *Physikai doxai* only fragments are extant. At *DG* 105f. Diels accepts the argument of Zeller (1877) 150ff. = Leuze (1910) 197ff. that a number of the fragments on the *archai* echo rather precisely what is in Aristotle *Met.* A (see above, n. 7), but adding a sixth, viz. Aristotelian, column to the grand conspectus cited above, text after n. 78, and including the quotations from other works of Aristotle printed in the apparatus to the fragments of the *Phys. op.*, would have undermined the result that we are dealing with 'ex Theophrasto excerpta' only. This point of view is still maintained at Diels (1887) 7f., where we find interesting remarks on the relation between Theophrastus' doxographic work (also as to its topic- and problem-oriented lay-out) and what today we would call Aristotelian dialectic.

¹¹⁹ Though most of Diels' personal library, which was given as *Wiedergutmachung* to the university of Leuven whose library had been set afire by the German invaders in 1914, perished in 1940 when the university library was burned by them for the second time (see De Strycker (1977)), his personal copy of the *DG* is extant. It was bequeathed to the university of Padova by E.

His diplomatic reply, dated July 31 1914, is worth quoting:¹²⁰

Ich bin gerne bereit mit Ihnen die Modalitäten einer Bearbeitung der zweiten Auflage der Doxographi zu besprechen, die freilich sehr einschneidend sein würde. Vor allem würde eine Verkürzung in das Auge zu fassen und die Einleitung übersichtlicher zu gestalten sein.

Ich muß mir über diesen Umwandlungsproceß, den ich nicht mehr vornehmen zu müssen glaubte und der ziemlich überraschend auf mich eindringt, genauer überlegen. Wenn es Ihnen recht ist, werde ich nach meiner Rückkehr aus den Ferien (freilich alles dies ist ja jetzt unsicher) im September mich mit Ihnen in Verbindung setzen.

So Diels really agreed that *if* a second edition would have to be made this would have to be a *revised* one, an idea which quite obviously he did not like. We may observe that he did not believe that a *retractio* of the theory developed in the 'Prolegomena' would be necessary. One entirely agrees that a less labyrinthine exposition would have been helpful. What abridgement or abridgements he had in mind we can only guess. We suppose that the sections containing the texts and indexes would not have been amenable to cuts, so can only assume that the 'Prolegomena' would have been shorter, perhaps less polemical, while on the other hand the literature published after 1879 would have had to be accounted for. It is clear that for several reasons, among which the cost of resetting the text, the war-years were not favourable to this enterprise.

There is some evidence for the revisions he may have had in mind when composing the letter to de Gruyter. If we go back some years in time, his comment in a paper published in 1893 that the reservoir of material to which he gave the name *Vetusta*

Bodrero, who got it from Achille Vogliano, who lived in Diels' house from January 1st 1921 to April 1st 1922 (Diels died on June 4th of that year); see Kern (1927) 133, and Vogliano (1928) xii: 'Hermannus [...] Diels humanissime me excepit, domum suam mihi aperuit, doctrinae suae thesauros liberalissime subministravit, omnibus denique officiis me sibi devinxit'. At the instigation of Attilio Zadro this exemplar has been studied by F. Oniga Farra (1985), who has transcribed Diels' marginalia and other inserted material (some letters; *Zettel* with additional material found either by Diels himself or sent to him by others). We are most grateful to Oniga Farra for permission to quote his valuable study.

¹²⁰ We are very grateful to the firm of Walter de Gruyter & Co, Berlin, for putting this letter from their *Verlagsarchiv* at our disposal and granting us full permission to quote (letter of Dr. H.-R. Cram dated May 25 1996).

Placita could be more accurately designated as ‘Poseidonianische Ἀρέσκοντα’ and that Aëtius should be dated to the reign of Trajan is particularly interesting.¹²¹ The important information that he dropped the idea that Ach was dependent on P has to be culled from a personal communication cited in the footnote of an article written by a visiting Italian scholar.¹²² Yet in themselves the *addenda et corrigenda* to be found in his personal copy seem hardly sufficient to justify a revised second edition; they are quite similar to those found at DG 850-4, and Diels disliked *Nachträge*.¹²³

What is more, as his colleague and friend Wilamowitz noted and as is confirmed by the letter to his publisher, Diels did not easily change his mind or develop his thought,¹²⁴ a fact that quite clearly emerges from these additions. Most important, however, was perhaps the following reason. Given the architectonic and self-reinforcing structure of the work as a whole, any major changes would be likely to have strong repercussions, and the net result could not but be an increase in untidiness. Diels never felt a strong need to revise his grand theory of the development of the doxographical tradition. Nor—we might add—was this encouraged by the critical responses of other scholars. So the *Doxographi Graeci* can still be purchased, in a sixth, *unaltered* reprint of the original edition. Surely a rare testimony to scholarly permanence.

5. Farewell to Diels: brief remarks on our own method

It is time to bid Diels a partial farewell. Naturally in the course of our further researches we will be making frequent references to his theory and the interpretation of texts upon which it is based. But it would be counter-productive to make our approach excessively *ad hominem*, for this would *volens nolens* tie us too much down to Diels’ method, with its strong and weak points, instead of permitting us to go our own way and develop our own methods.

Although the full details of our approach can only be unfolded

¹²¹ Diels (1893a) 102, reprinted at Burkert (1969) 240.

¹²² Pasquali (1910) 221; there are several references to this paper in Diels’ *Handexemplar*. See further below, Ch. 6, p. 303.

¹²³ Witness the preface to the 4th edition of *VS* (1922).

¹²⁴ Wilamowitz (1928) 282: ‘Das schloß nicht aus, daß er in eigener Sache empfindlich sein konnte und nicht leicht vergaß. Eine Behauptung zurückzunehmen, überhaupt das Umlernen ward ihm schwer.’

as we go along, at this point at least five points on which we differ from our predecessor can be briefly outlined.

(1) Although it is difficult to avoid using the word 'doxography' in the broader sense which has been customary, our researches in volumes I and II will in fact begin by concentrating *on the narrower tradition of the Placita literature proper* and those external sources that can illuminate the material located there. Other authors, such as Hippolytus, Diogenes Laertius, Arius Didymus, indeed even Theophrastus for the most part, will be mentioned only incidentally. The proper study of their relation to the *Placita* will have to be postponed.

(2) More emphasis will be placed on *the individual authors* (Aëtius ps.-Plutarch Eusebius ps.-Galen Stobaeus Theodoret Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā) who make up the backbone of the *Placita* tradition. We shall look carefully at what motivated them to use the tradition, and the ways in which they manipulated that tradition to their own ends. It will emerge that these authors are not only a *witness* to that tradition (as in Diels), but are also themselves—this applies especially to A P G, but also to a lesser extent to the others—*integral parts* of that tradition. For this reason analysis of their individual attitudes and methods can tell us much about how the tradition developed.

(3) It will be important continually to bear in mind the *context* in which the *Placita* are being used, whether this be philosophical, scientific, apologetic, epideictic or otherwise. In the case of a philosophical context, it cannot be assumed that this is a straightforward matter of history of philosophy, as Diels generally did.¹²⁵ Objective history of philosophy is a modern idea. It may be that users of the *Placita* were not interested in history of philosophy at all.

¹²⁵ But note the exceptional statement at Diels (1887) 7: 'Die Geschichte der Physik, welche Theophrast in seinen 18 Büchern Φυσικῶν δοξῶν bis auf Platon hinabführt, hatte *nicht* den Zweck der *rein historischen Belehrung*, den wir jetzt vornehmlich in diesen Studien verfolgen' (our emphasis); remarks on what we now call Peripatetic dialectic follow, see above, n. 118. At (1893b) 409, on the other hand, we find what appears to be his standard view: 'So *schuf* [...] Theophrast *die Geschichte der Philosophie* in den 18 Büchern seiner Φυσικῶν δοξῶν, von deren *Auffassung* und Stoff die ganze spätere Ueberlieferung abhängig ist, so ward Eudemos der *Geschichtsschreiber* der Theologie und zugleich der exacten Wissenschaften, der Arithmetik, Geometrie und Astronomie' (our emphasis again).

(4) Finally a difference between Diels' method and our own will be that it will not be exemplaristic in approach. We shall thus attempt not only to use significant examples, as he tends to do when trying to make a point, but also to offer full overviews of various features belonging to the method of the *Placita*. For example, when discussing the extent to which the *Placita* make direct reference to sources from which they draw their material, we will not just give the most salient examples, but draw up a complete list. It must be borne in mind, however, that the extant evidence is, in the case of Aëtius, often not complete.

(5) In other respects, however, the material offered in the *Placita* is simply too *overwhelming* to allow full analysis. In the case of Aëtius we are dealing with some 133 chapters, each on a different topic. These contain close to a thousand separate lemmata, representing the views of some hundred philosophers, philosophical schools, scientists, doctors, and even poets. An adequate commentary on such a mass of material would cover the entire range of pre-Imperial philosophy, and would surely require a work containing even more volumes than those we have planned. This restriction should be borne in mind by readers whenever they find us concentrating on the formal features of the *Placita*.

6. *A crucial distinction: sources of, sources for, witnesses to*

In the next four chapters of this volume we shall now embark on a rigorous examination of the Aëtian tradition. In the presentation of our findings we shall make consistent use of a crucial distinction. We distinguish between (1) the *sources of* Aëtius and (2a) the *sources for* and (2b) the *witnesses to* the reconstruction of his lost work. The *sources of* Aëtius are the earlier doxographical works that he used to compile his collection, e.g. the earlier collections of *Placita* and at several removes Theophrastus and Aristotle. This anterior tradition will be referred to only very sparingly in this volume.¹²⁶ The *sources for* his reconstruction are the three later authors that record his work *verbatim* or nearly *verbatim*, i.e. ps.Plutarch (together with his tradition), Stobaeus and (less exactly) Theodoret, and thus allow it to be reconstructed to a greater or

¹²⁶ Various preliminary studies on this question by Mansfeld are cited above in n. 52.

lesser extent. A chapter of this volume will be devoted to each one of these authors (chapters 3 to 5). The *witnesses to Aëtius'* lost work are those other texts that can help us in the task of reconstruction, but are not indebted to it directly (e.g. Achilles, Nemesius, Philo etc.). Chapter 6 will be devoted to these authors and documents.

7. *A practical problem: how to refer to the Aëtian Placita*

One of the ways in which Diels ensured the monumentality of his great work was to introduce new numbering systems for a number of documents in his collection. Naturally in the case of certain documents he retained already existent numbering, e.g. for the fragments of Theophrastus' so-called Φυσικῶν δόξαι¹²⁷ and the *De sensibus*,¹²⁸ but for his reconstruction of Aëtius and for the edition of the fragments of Arius Didymus and the *Placita* of ps.-Galen he introduced his own numbering, which has remained standard ever since. Even today most scholars, when referring to Aëtius, simply use Diels' numbering,¹²⁹ as Diels himself of course did in the *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, which is for many scholars still their main source of knowledge about the contents of Aëtius' work.

It goes without saying that this procedure is unacceptable to us, since it is based on a reconstruction of Aëtius' work which, as will become clear in the course of our analysis, is methodologically flawed. A replacement method will have to be found, and this will inevitably be more cumbersome than using Diels' numbering, since one has to refer to a work of which the original form has been lost. We will solve the problem by means of a combination of the following five procedures.

(i) In the main we refer to Aëtius by means of reference to the chief witnesses to his text, P and S. The crucial preposition here is *at*. Thus, for example, the *doxa* on Plato's theology in the chapter τίς ἐστὶν ὁ θεός will be referred to as 'A at P 1.7' or 'A at S 1.1.29b'. In the case of S we will make use where applicable of the subdivisions in Wachsmuth's text of S.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ The numbering in Usener (1858); see above n. 54.

¹²⁸ The numbering in Schneider (1818–21).

¹²⁹ Some prominent examples: Kirk, Raven and Schofield (1983), see index 461; Long and Sedley (1987) 1.492.

¹³⁰ It is true the Wachsmuth's edition is indebted to the results of Diels'

(ii) If a lemma is found in both witnesses and the double location is not important in the context, then we will generally refer to the Plutarchean text, since P follows the original structure of A more closely than S does. This applies especially to references to chapters.¹³¹

(iii) But a particular problem is posed by the fact that Mau and Lachenaud in their text of P, perhaps out of deference to Diels, do not number the individual lemmata in P's chapters. We will introduce numbers simply by numbering each separate lemma of a chapter in P in sequence. For instance, the Platonic lemma just mentioned is the sixth in his chapter on theology, so we will refer to P's version more accurately as A at P 1.7.6.

(iv) On the rare occasions that a lemma in P is rather long (e.g. the first lemma in the chapter on theology just mentioned), we shall sometimes give a more precise indication by the standard Plutarchean numbering, e.g. P 1.7.1 880D.

(v) If it is clear which book of A or P we are talking about, we shall refer to individual chapters with the sign ¶; if it is clear which chapter of P or S we have in mind, we shall refer to individual lemmata with the sign §.

DG. In labelling individual lemmata, whether of A or AD, he consistently gives the Dielsian identification, including often the numbers of individual lemmata. But note that he never changes the order of the text as found in the manuscripts on the basis of Diels' reconstructions. This means that the location of individual passages in the text is not influenced by Diels' *DG*. Wachsmuth's edition of S is a text, not a reconstruction. See further our comments below, Ch. 4, p. 203, 210.

¹³¹ On the relation between the chapter numbering in P and what the original must have looked like, see below Ch. 3, p. 184ff.

APPENDIX

Tabular presentation in antiquity and in
nineteenth-century classical philology

1: *Antiquity*. The juxtaposition of corresponding texts provided by Diels in the *DG* (see above, n. 73 and text thereto) resembles the time-honoured presentation of text and translation(s) in parallel columns (a technique frequently put to use for instance by Bernays), but should not of course be put on a par with and at any rate not be derived from it, or derived from it alone, for tabular presentation was (and is) used in a variety of ways. As to the juxtaposition of *texts* in antiquity one may think of Origen's *Hexapla*: Hebrew text, Greek transliteration (read in the synagogue), four (and occasionally even more) Greek translations; the title *Tetrapla* presumably refers to a reduced version with the translations only (for the various titles see Field (1875-7) 1.xii). He may have composed this 'primarily for his own use', perhaps following the example of Jewish predecessors (thus Barnes (1981) 91f.). It became a famous source for later biblical scholars, a sort of data-base *avant la lettre*. For the method of placing various translations in the *Hexapla* in parallel vertical columns alongside the Hebrew original and its transliteration see Eus. *HE* 6.16.4 (also cited *Suda*, s.v. *Origenes*, 3.618.32-3 Adler), ταύτας δὲ ἀπάσας [*scil.*, the various translations] ἐπὶ ταὐτὸν συναγαγὼν διελὼν [*διελθὼν Suda*] τε πρὸς κῶλον καὶ ἀντιπαράθεις ['juxtaposing'; for this important term see below] ἀλλήλαις μετὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἑβραίων σημειώσεως κτλ., and Epiphanius, *Panar.* II p. 407.1ff. Holl, a careful description of the format and of the six columns. It should of course be noted that the *Hexapla* did not serve the purpose of reconstructing a source, for the source of the translations, the Hebrew text, was available and as we have seen written colon by colon in the first column. But to some extent it did serve a source-critical, or rather text-critical, purpose since the differences between the Hebrew text and the Septuagint were noted in the column of the latter.

An interesting parallel for Origen's mode of presentation in several languages is provided by the remains (one page and a few snippets from a codex) of a 5th-6th cent. phrase-book, which in *three columns*—this, at least, was the scribe's intention—lists Latin words and expressions transliterated in Greek, and their Greek and Coptic equivalents (the latter in the Coptic alphabet). This was first published by Schubart (1913) and has been re-edited by Kramer (1983) 97ff. As Kramer points out in his commentary it is derived from earlier such 'Berlitzes', though the Coptic column is unparalleled.

Eusebius who as we have seen knew the *Hexapla* with its continuous parallel vertical columns very well, applied the tabular technique in the second book of his *Chronicle*, the famous and influential Χρονικὸὶ κανόνες. Barnes (1981) 120 hypothesizes that 'the idea of tabulation may have been suggested [to Eusebius] by the parallel columns of the

Hexapla', but this, as we shall see, is not the whole story. Χρονικὸν κανόνες is the title he uses himself at *PE* 10.9.11, *HE* 1.1.6, and *Generalis elementaria introductio* p. 1.28 Gaisford; cf. also e.g. *Suda*, s.v. *Eusebios*, 2.472.22 Adler. At *In Isaiam* 1.67 he refers to the whole work in two books as τοῖς πονηθεῖσιν ἡμῖν χρονικοῖς συγγράμμασι. This work seems to have been composed in the eighties of the 3rd. cent. and to have been updated about forty years later. Barnes (1981) 117f. and 120, agreeing with Helm (1924) 14ff. and Mosshammer (1979) 60ff., 138ff. (the latter, *ibid.* 61 ff., usefully summarizes Helm's arguments) argues that no one before Eusebius 'had ever arranged these lists [of kings, officials etc.] in parallel vertical forms to exhibit synchronisms'. A similar view is formulated by Croke (1982) and (1983b) 121ff. Grafton (1993) 585ff. however persuasively argues that though it may be 'prudent to accept the conclusions of modern scholars', the evidence that Eusebius was the first to use the tabular format is not entirely conclusive. Croke (1983b) provides an interesting overview of partial precedents from the domains of historiography and chronography (Greek, Jewish, Roman, Christian). For Eusebius' Christian predecessors see also Momigliano (1963) 110ff. Croke (1982) may be correct that Eusebius will have been the first to employ the technique throughout and consistently (in a chronological treatise, as one should add).

Yet it was not a complete innovation. To start with chronography: the Christian chronographer Julius Africanus (no texts in Jacoby *FGH* Bd. 2B) to whom the invention of the tabular form has been attributed in the past, in a work finished in 221 already suggested a technique that is at least very much similar to Eusebius', though it may be the case that he only synchronized particular events or persons (just as Gellius, cf. above, n. 77, and see further below) and did not use columns. Compare the verbatim quotation from his introductory explanation (from book III of the *Chronographiai*) *ap.* Eus. *PE* 10.10.2:

[...] yoking together (συζεύξας) chronologically and individually the notable historical events after the mythical period [of Greek history], (juxtaposing) the Hebrew events to those of the Greeks, on the one hand setting forth the history of the Hebrews and on the other treating that of the Greeks, I shall connect (ἐφαρμόσω) them in the following way: taking one event in Hebrew history which is contemporary (ὁμοχρόνου) with an event in Greek historiography, and holding on to the former while making subtractions as well as additions (ταύτης ἐχόμενος ἀφαιρῶν τε καὶ προστίθεις) and noting which Greek or Persian or whoever was contemporary with the event from Hebrew history, I shall probably succeed in my aim.

The formula 'making subtractions as well as additions' demonstrates that Africanus performed calculations in order to establish which events could be synchronized, i.e. used a rough chronological matrix. His addition of selected data of biblical history to those of Greek and Roman history already synchronized by his pagan predecessors anticipates Eusebius' *modus operandi*. The verb συζεύγνυμι used by him, 'to yoke together' (of horses, oxen, or of humans in marriage), 'to couple in pairs'

is significant. Eus. *Gen. elem. introd.* p. 1.29-30.1 Gaisford (see above) uses ἀντιπαράθεντες (cf. Strabo 12.13.20) for the alignment of columns. Cf. also in Jerome's translation of the foreword, *Chron.* 18.16-8 Helm, 'decadas [...] sibi invicem fecimus esse contrarias'. The formula χρονικοὶ κανόνες is anyway older, see Plut. *Sol.* 27, χρονικοῖς τισι λεγομένοις κανόσιν, 'chronological canons, as they are called', and cf. already Dionys. Halic. *Ant.* 1.74.2-3 ('that the canons used by Eratosthenes are sound, and in what way one may accomodate (ἀπευθύνοι) the Roman chronology to the Greek, I have shown elsewhere'). Such an accomodation of Greek and Roman political and cultural history is the purpose of Gellius' relaxed chronographic chapter (*NA* 17.21, see above, n. 77) which, as he says, is based on his own excerpts from Greek and Roman chronicles (and other sources, mentioned as he goes on); this text is the only one where the word συγχρονισμός is found (*NA* 17.21.1), but this is by the way. There is no evidence that the earlier chronographic writings made use of columns; the term κανόνες ('yardsticks', 'rules') by itself does not entail the use of this format, though it eventually came to do so when it was applied to tables composed of a variety of corresponding lists. It is not certain either that Porphyry used parallel columns in book XII of his *Against the Christians*, which Eusebius knew and used (see Croke (1983a)). On the other hand, one may perhaps assume that tables were used in order to prepare the versions that were published (cf. above, n. 87, on Tatian). If so, Eusebius would have raised one of the tools of the trade to the status of a finished product.

Early and amusing examples for κανόνες meaning 'vertical parallel lines' are found in the fragments by Agathon (*TGF* fr. 764.2, 'two upright straight rods yoked together', ὀρθοὶ τε κανόνες ἐζυγωμένοι δύο), where the term ἐζυγωμένοι, too, is interesting, and Theodectes (*TGF* fr. 803.2, 'next two straight rods of quite equal measure', ἔπειτα δισσοὶ κανόνες ἰσόμετροι πάνυ) *ap.* Athen. 10.454df, recording descriptions of the letter H by illiterate peasants. Also compare a simile of Basil, *Hom. super Psalmos*, PG 29 p. 325.31ff., ἐὰν δύο κανόνες ἀλλήλοις παρατεθῶσιν, ἡ εὐθύτης αὐτῶν συναρμόζει ἀλλήλοις, 'when two canons are juxtaposed, their straightness makes them fall in with each other'.

As an entirely neglected but highly important parallel from another field one should mention the astronomical canons or 'tables' (κανόνες, also κανόνια; for the latter term cf. *LSJ* s.v. κανόνιον iv, *Lampe* s.v. κανόνιον) in Ptolemy's *Syntaxis mathematica*, or *Almagest*, which was published shortly after 150 CE. This parallel is noteworthy because the same word is used, but even more because in both cases not only methods of presentation are involved but also techniques of *computation*. The standard height of such an astronomical table is 45 lines but it may also be less high, and it may contain from three to twelve vertical columns (σελίδια, σελίδες); see e.g. *Synt.* I pp. 47ff., 280ff., 336ff., 431ff., and II 428ff. Heiberg, and further Rome (1936) xxviii ff., Toomer (1984) index s.v. 'tables', Jones (1990) 8ff. The term σελίς (Latin *pagina*), originally a '(page with one) column of writing' on papyrus, is noteworthy. These tables list carefully computed *interrelated* data. It is not without significance that Epiphanius, *Panar.* II p. 408.5 Holl and *De mens.* I. 177, 178, 181, 529, in his description of Origen's *Hexapla* uses the word σελίς for a

'column' of text; cf. a scholion to IV Reg 6:5 printed at Field (1885-7) 1.xi: τὸ κύριε τὸ ἐνταῦθα οὕτως φέρεται ἐν τῇ σελίδι τῇ ἑβδόμῃ κτλ. For the term see also *Suda* 4.338.7 Adler: σελίδιον· τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνωθεν ἀναγινωσκόμενον ἐπὶ τὰ κάτω.

Also compare Ptolemy's later work Προχείρων κανόνων διάταξις καὶ ψηφοφορία 'Arrangement and Computation of Handy Tables', which unlike the great treatise did not contain mathematical proofs, and cf. Theon *In Almag.*, 2.318.11-2 Rome on other commentators: αὐτοὶ τὰ πλείστα καθάπερ ἐν προχείροις κανόσι διὰ ψιλῶν ἐφόδων περαίνουσιν. On the use of such or similar tables by astrologists see e.g. Gundel and Gundel (1966) 267f., 272f. Ptolemy's 'Handy Tables' have been interpolated, coalesced and added to in later times, so were well-known and much-used (see further Heiberg (1907) cxcff., Van der Waerden (1954) and (1958), Neugebauer (1975) 969ff.), but the introductory explanation is extant in what appears to be its original form and has been edited by Heiberg (1907). Theon of Alexandria (2nd half of 4th cent. CE) wrote two commentaries on this work (Tihon (1978), Mogenet and Tihon (1985), Tihon (1991)) which are extant (the edition of the earlier and larger one is not yet complete), and a large fragment from an earlier commentary also survives (Jones (1990)). It is especially noteworthy that Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* contained (as its third item) a προκατόνιον τῆς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐποχῆς βασιλέων χρονογραφίας, a 'pre-canon of the chronography of the kings from the epoch [viz., the date serving as the starting-point of the series, here 1 Philip, Thoth 1 = November 12 324 BCE]'; Helm (1924) 6 refers to it without realizing its significance as precedent for Eusebius' *modus operandi*. On Scaliger's epoch-making use of a version of this table see Grafton (1993) 115f., 720ff. Ptolemy's chronology in the *Almagest* too is based on such a king-list, though its epoch, 1 Nabonassar, Thoth 1 = February 26 747 BCE, differs from that in the later work. For details see Toomer (1984) 10ff., with reconstructed list of Assyrian/Babylonian, Persian, and Macedonian kings, and of Roman emperors, from Nabonassar to Antoninus, with regnal years added in a separate column. One way or other there must be a link with tabular chronography (format, king-lists, years of reign, as in Eusebius). For earlier astronomical canons see e.g. *Synt. math.* II p. 211.5 H., τῆς καλουμένης αἰωνίου κανονοποιίας, 'the fabrication of eternal [i.e. recurrent] tables, as they are called', with the comments of Van der Waerden (1979), who points out that these will have been tables without proofs used by astrologers; accordingly Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* are a revised version of these earlier tables, based on the better calculations and the proofs to be found in the *Almagest*. Astronomical tables on fragments of a codex palaeographically dated to the 2nd. cent. are discussed by Neugebauer (1958), and ones pertaining to the reign of Claudius on a very fragmentary papyrus by Neugebauer (1973). Parallels for the format of tables such as these are provided by the so-called *hemerologia*, the Greek calenders of the eastern provinces of the Roman empire. These give the names of the months in a number of cities (beginning with Rome) as the headings of the parallel vertical columns listing the days, and apparently go back to the early imperial period. They seem to have been inspired by the format of the Roman calenders, the *fasti*; see Samuel (1974) 270ff., and

for the *fasti* themselves e.g. Helm (1924) 7 (also for purported Greek local chronicles on stone 'in einer gewissen Tabellenform'), Bömer (1957) 32ff., who provides an example from a Roman calender with four columns and refers to the copious literature (for which see also Samuel (1974) 153f.), and Croke (1983b) 119f.

Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* also contains one geographical table. Such tables (five columns or less) are a standard ingredient of his *Geographia*. In the prologue to the second book he explains his method; here we again find the vocabulary familiar from the astronomical work, viz. at *Geogr.* 2.1.3 (ed. Nobbe): διὸ καὶ τὰς παραθέσεις τῶν μοιρῶν ἐφ' ἑκάστου τοῖς ἐκτὸς μέρεσι τῶν σελιδίων παρεθήκαμεν κανονίαν τρόπον κτλ.

In his *Letter to Carpianus* (text at PG 11.1176-92, Nestle and Aland (1979) 39*-44*; English transl. Oliver (1959) 144f.) Eusebius describes the synoptic presentation of the Gospels by (the otherwise unknown) Ammonius of Alexandria, who placed the similar pericopes of the three other evangelists alongside Matthew (columns again, we presume), so that the coherent sequence of the others was destroyed and, more seriously, the passages without parallel in Matthew were left out (see Nordenfalk (1938) 1.46f.). Ammonius may have been inspired by the example of his fellow-Alexandrian Origen; the Gospel, after all, was seen as one message in four different textual versions ('according to Matthew', etc.). Eusebius himself replaced this system by his influential 'ten canons' (κανόνας δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν, Nestle and Aland p. 39*.13), listing the parallel (though not necessarily corresponding, see McArthur (1965)) pericopes in four evangelists (one canon), three evangelists (three different canons), and two evangelists (five different canons), while the final canon consists of pericopes found in one evangelist only (so in theory subdivided in four, but Eusebius did not want a final result of thirteen columns). This lay-out is not a synoptic presentation of texts as in the *Hexapla*, or as in Ammonius, but may of course easily be converted into one.

Barnes (1981) 121 argues that Eusebius 'may have derived the idea [of the Gospel *Canons*] from pagan scholarship' though he believes that 'no model can be identified', yet finds the result truly original. He plausibly attributes them to Eusebius' youth because the spurious ending of Mark is lacking, but he as well as Croke (see above) oddly fail to notice the obvious formal affinity between the vertical columns of parallel passages in the Gospels (cf. already Ammonius) and the lists of historical data in the vertical columns of the chronographic work. Another relation between Eusebius' two seminal works is that both serve an apologetic purpose: the Gospel *Canons* demonstrate their overall agreement (we may note that Eusebius devoted yet another treatise to this issue, viz. the mostly lost *Quaestiones evangelicae* or Περὶ διαφωνίας εὐαγγελίων), while the chronographic work proves that Jewish and so Christian history is older than that of the Greeks (cf. e.g. Helm (1924) 3) in a more solid and accessible way than predecessors such as Tatian, Clement and Julius Africanus had done. Barnes (1981) 113 argues that the chronographic work is not apologetic but pure scholarship, but this goes too far. The scholarship may be pure enough, but it serves a definite purpose. Note that Julius Africanus too wrote an apologetic work,

see Eus. *HE* 6.31.3, καὶ ἑτέρα δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ φέρεται ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἀριστείδην, περὶ τῆς νομιζομένης διαφωνίας τῶν παρὰ Ματθαίῳ τε καὶ Λουκᾷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεαλογιῶν· ἐν ᾗ σαφέστατα τὴν συμφωνίαν τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν παρίστησιν κτλ. (ed. Reichardt (1909)).

Barnes and Croke also omit to mention the Ptolemaean 'Handy Tables'; for the latter in relation to the Gospel *Canons* see the pertinent remarks of Nordenfalk (1938) 1.117ff. See also *ibid.* and 1.126ff. for the brace ('Kanonbogen') uniting the Eusebian Gospel columns in early mss., and for the possible antecedents of this 'architectural' device, which as we may note is also used by Diels in his synoptic presentation of P and S in the *DG* (for the origin of its use by Diels see however above, n. 81 and text thereto).

Helm (1924) 17, speaking of Eusebius' chronographic work, calls the parallel columns 'des Verfassers eigenste Erfindung [...]. wie sie durch die vorausgegangenen Anregungen der Chroniken und παραλήγματα ['calendars'] hervorgerufen werden konnten'. But there is much more, as we have seen. The history of tabular presentation in antiquity requires further research, for instance into the history of annotation (an example on a papyrus fragment from the 2nd-3rd cent. with Homeric lemmata in the left and simple explanations in the right column is printed and explained at Larsen (1942) 10ff.), into that of calendars (some remarks on Greek and Roman calendars in Helm (1924) 6ff.), perhaps into that of book-keeping, and presumably into that of the tables used for arithmetical, geometrical and astronomical computations in Ancient Egypt and Babylonia as well as in the Greek world. It is not unlikely that a comparative study of early Oriental chronicles would be rewarding too. This sort of inquiry cannot be undertaken here, but the conclusion may already be accepted that the formal similarity between a preliminary form of the synoptic presentation of texts and tabular chronography and astronomy etc. is undeniable. The term κανόνες for Gospel 'tables' (Eus. *Ep. Carp.*, see above) at any rate was apparently taken over from astronomical/astrological and chronographic literature.

Eusebius' synoptic Gospel tables are found in numerous mss. of the New Testament, and inspired medieval and early modern Gospel harmonies, or synopses. These mss., then, are among the routes by which the technique of tabular presentation travelled through time. Other routes are the various *Chronica* and the texts containing astronomical and other tables, but it is via the Eusebian Gospel canons that the technique was kept alive in New Testament studies and eventually led to Griesbach's innovation.

2: *Nineteenth-century classical philology.* For the method of tabular synoptic presentation in connection with source-criticism in modern times see above, p. 89ff., where we argue that Diels was inspired to apply it on a grand scale by e.g. Schoene and Wachsmuth, and have discussed its modern origin in late 18th cent. New Testament studies. What undoubtedly happened is that this method gradually and almost imperceptibly percolated from New Testament studies to classics in the first half of the 19th cent. It never received the attention, let alone the laurels, bestowed on the Lachmannian method because it lacked a Lachmann to promote

himself, and it. Sufficiently numerous examples are to be found in the early volumes of the *Rheinisches Museum*.

As to its source-critical use in classical philology see also Wachsmuth's later chapter at (1882) 91-3 (four columns), 94-9 (two), 112-4 (two + two), 116 (three), 117-20 (four), 152-3 (four), 155 (three), 156-7 (three), 158-9 (four columns). How the synoptic technique is naturally compatible with the use of the Lachmannian stemmatic method is shown by an article on Varro published by Usener in 1869 (see Usener (1912-4) 2.206ff.), the very year that Diels made the first draft of his theory (cf. also below, on Mommsen (1864)); but as we have noticed, above text to n. 87, the way the technique and the method are used by Nietzsche (1868-9) is more impressive by far. Here we should observe that Nietzsche had not only been influenced by predecessors in the field of classics, but as a young student at Bonn had become acquainted with the latest developments in New Testament criticism. He points this out in the *curriculum vitae* he sent to Prof Vischer-Bilfinger at Basle on February 1st 1868 (Colli and Montinari (1987) 2.367, our italics):

Hier [i.e. in Bonn] richteten sich meine Studien eine Zeitlang auf die *philologische* Seite der Evangelienkritik und der *neutestamentlichen Quellenforschung*.

There is also an example in the dissertation, Diels (1870) 10, and as we have seen a much better and more revealing one in Diels (1876), quoted above, n. 79. An instance of double columns used for another (also quite wide-spread and in fact hum-drum) purpose, viz. a text in the first and comments in the second column, is in Diels' letter to Wilamowitz at Braun & al. (1995b) 7ff., dated November 1869. We have moreover seen in chapter I above (text to n. 57 and n. 58) that as early as 1872 Diels planned an edition of the *whole* of Aëtius both as a harmony (for this term see above, n. 84) and as a synopsis.

Jacob Bernays' interest in tables (though not yet for the purpose of source-criticism) is already apparent in a note from his *Nachlaß* jotted down as early as 1845 and now published for the first time at Glucker and Laks (1996) 245 (our emphasis):

Ein grosses Hilfsmittel für das Studium der Philosophie wären *Tabellen*, wo unter den Rubriken der Hauptprobleme (ἀρχή, κίνησις, ὕλη, Notwendigkeit, summum bonum etc.) die Lösungen nach chronologischer Folge gegeben wären. Ich muss mit Brandis [see above, Ch. 1. n. 24] darüber sprechen.

In one of his earliest contributions, the 'critical letter' to Bunsen (first publ. 1852) on the text of the recently found later books of Hippolytus' *Refutatio*, Bernays uses double columns on an impressive scale in support of his argument that large chunks of bk. X contain practically the same text as passages in the earlier books, see Bernays (1852) at Usener (1895) 1.294 n., 1.296f., 1.298ff., and esp. 1.306-13. At Bernays (1853) 568f. = (1880) 145f. he briefly uses two columns to prove that the definition of comedy in his 'Anonymus' (i.e. the today famous Coislinianus 120, the importance of which he was the first to see) is a mere 'jämmerlich ungeschickte Travestie der aristotelischen von der Tragödie'. In his

seminal study of Sulpicius Severus' *Chronicle* (1861) 134ff. double columns over five pages compare Sulp. Severus' version of the 'edicta [...] Dei ad Moysen' with Jerome's transl. of Ex 21–22, while at the bottom of the page 'bemerkenswerte Abweichungen der Septuaginta' are quoted in Greek. In a short paper of 1864 we find two columns which show that Clem. *Strom.* 2.14.60 depends on Arist. *EN* 3.2, 1111a3–15, via (so he argues) a treatise by the Aristotelian Adrastus; see at Usener (1895) 1.160 and 1.164 (cf. Mras' ed. of Clement, *ad loc.*). In his monograph dealing with Theophrastus' lost *On Piety* Bernays uses two short columns to illustrate the way Porphyry excerpts and abridges Flavius Josephus, see (1866) 25ff. Such columns are also used in two papers published in 1876: in (1876a) at Usener (1895) 1.352 he shows that Herennius plagiarizes Philo, in (1876b) at Usener (1895) 1.270 n. 1 we find two columns which demonstrate that Sen. *Ep.* 98.13 and 94.1 uses the same material about Ariston as Sext. *M.* 7.12 (cf. *SVF* 1.356–358). Bernays, who as to this method had predecessors in the field of classics, may also have been further stimulated by the developments in the field of New Testament studies; we may note that while in England in 1852 he followed the lectures on the Life of Jesus (a topic closely connected with the correspondences and differences of the Gospels as visible in a synopsis) of a protestant theologian, and read the New Testament in Greek with a young Englishman (Bach (1974) 108). Usener in the introduction to his edition of the *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (1885) 1.iiiif. emphasizes Bernays' 'in unserer Zeit nicht gewöhnliche Vertrautheit mit dem neuen Testament'.

The method was also quite familiar to Theodor Mommsen. He uses it in a paper on a small scale (1857) 625f., then on a most noteworthy scale in the preface to his important critical edition of the text (according to strict Lachmannian principles!) of Solinus (1864¹) xxii–xxvii: three columns to prove the relations between passages in the Elder Pliny as the primary source, via an hypothetical *lost* intermediary (or hyparchetype: stemmatology!), of Apuleius and Solinus, four columns for similarly interrelated passages in Pomponius Mela, Pliny, Ammianus and Solinus, and three again for such passages in Pliny, Ammianus and Solinus. We may note, however, that the archetype, Pliny, is known: it need not be reconstructed, or postulated, hypothetically. Still, the combination in one and the same book of the Lachmannian and the synoptic methods is absolutely noteworthy; it is also noteworthy that as to the Solinus columns Mommsen had a predecessor, viz. Wuttke (1853) cxlviff. n.1, three pages of columns comparing texts in Ammianus and Solinus to prove that the latter used the former. See also Mommsen's papers (1868) 92, 96, (1870) 301 n. 1, 302 n. 1, 303 n. 2, 305 n. 1, 312ff. and (1871) 568f. We should perhaps observe that during the years (1854–58) that Mommsen was professor at the University of Breslau, the city where Bernays taught classics at the newly founded Jewish Theological Seminary from 1853 to 1866, the two men were in very close contact (Momigliano (1994) 158f., Bach (1974) 135ff.). Bernays, who moreover literally read everything by scholars he deemed important, helped Mommsen with his work in many ways; note that Mommsen's 1857 paper was published while the author was still in Breslau, and that

the edition of Solinus only appeared several years after he had left for Berlin, i.e. three years after the publication of Bernays' study of Sulpicius Severus' *Chronicle* which he certainly will have read. At any rate Mommsen's use of tables of parallel columns will also have been furthered by his familiarity with and study of ancient and early medieval chronographic literature, which of course often employs the tabular format. His early book on Roman chronology (we have only seen 1859²) contains numerous chronological tables (calendars, 'Jahrtafeln', 'Königstafeln' etc.), and at p. 115 a four-column comparison of texts from the *Fasti Capitolini*, the so-called Chronographer of 354, Idatius and the *Chronicon Paschale*. Cf. also Kaufmann (1876) 252, 253, 262ff., 267f., etc. on the same and similar texts, using the same method. It is also applied consistently for source-critical purposes by Gelzer in his study of Julius Africanus and Byzantine chronography (1880-85). It is not for nothing that Mommsen was one of the dedicatees of Schoene (1866), see above, n. 81 and text thereto. In the final stage of his career he used the synoptic method for the presentation of parallel texts on a grand scale in his majestic edition of the so-called *Chronica minora* of (1892-94).

In a similar way Diels may have derived inspiration not only from Wachsmuth, Mommsen, Usener, Nietzsche, and Bernays, but also from Schoene (1866), who produced a *synoptic* edition of the extant translations and fragments of, interestingly enough, Eusebius' tabular *chronographic* work; see above, n. 83 and text thereto.

A small and innocuous example of the use of the synoptic method is at Usener (1858) 14 = (1912) 1.62, demonstrating a doublet in the catalogue of Theophrastus' works. Böckh (1863) contains numerous astronomical tables but also, interestingly enough, two columns at pp. 369-70 pertaining to two texts with corresponding data ('Man sieht in der Mehrheit der Fälle eine Uebereinstimmung der Angaben des Plinius mit den Euktemonischen Daten des Par. Gem. bis auf einen Tag', he concludes at p. 371); elsewhere tables are used by him for more trivial purposes, see e.g. at Ascherson & al. (1858-72) 3.180, 5.74f., 6.358. Numerous double columns are to be found in two papers by Braun (1865) and (1867) comparing tragedies by Seneca and Greek tragedians, and Seneca and Statius. The synoptic method is incidentally applied by Zeller (1843) 27f. n. 1, two columns to prove that Rixner plagiarized Ast; cf. also Zeller (1839) 170ff., 175ff., two columns used to a different purpose, viz. the juxtaposition of the antinomies in Plato's *Parmenides*, and Zeller (1854) 399f. n. 2, three columns (including appropriate *Sperrdruck*) to prove that various versions of Paul's conversion in different chapters of *Acts* have been written by the same person. But there is a significant instance which Diels knew (he even explicitly refers to and criticizes the pages at issue of the 4th ed. at *DG* 112) in Zeller *PhdGr* (1856²) 1.370f. n. 3 (= (1869³) 1.442f. n. 1, (1876⁴) 474f. n. 3; Zeller stuck to his guns for the note is reprinted virtually unchanged at (1892⁵) 1.1.510f. n. 1 = (1919⁶) 1.1.628f. n. 1): two fairly long columns to support his thesis that Simplic. *In Phys.* 22.22-23.30 derives from ps.Arist. *MXG* ch. 3.

A quite early but microscopic example is to be found in Bernays' *Doktorvater* Ritschl's dissertation (1834) 32 (= (1866-79) 1.616), where to illustrate what a number of grammarians and lexica have in common

he provides two columns with corresponding passages 'de ἡπτορ voce' from Orus and [ps.] Zonaras. Also note Ritschl (1840) 1ff. (= (1866-79) 1.124ff.), two columns putting the text of a scholium on Plautus, on which Ritschl had written before, alongside what proves to be its Greek original, which had meanwhile been found and published by Cramer. Another microscopic example at Ritschl (1860) 495 = repr. 230, two columns showing that a passage occurs twice in the mss. ('utriusque loci versiculos, quales in vetere Parisino exstant, ex adverso posui'). An interesting quite early instance is found in a paper by Schneider (1845) 447ff., two columns over more than three pages to demonstrate doublets in the text of Apollonius Dyscolus. Cf. also Dronke (1857), who uses double columns to compare passages in Apollonius Dyscolus with those of other grammarians.

Significantly enough Woltjer (1877) in his important study of Lucretius' sources does not use the method. It did not, we might surmise, lend itself so well for comparisons between the prosaic Epicurus and the poetical Lucretius. But Bernays' pupil and successor at Breslau Jacob Freudenthal (1839-1907), whose seminal work was published in the same year as Diels' *DG*, successfully uses it at (1879) 257f. in order to compare the divisions of the Platonic dialogues in Albinus, *Prolog.* 3, and Diog. Laert. 3.48-9.; cf. *ibid.* 264, Diog. Laert. 3.49 juxtaposed to 5.28.

Addendum. A good example of tabular presentation is already found as early as the *Praefatio*, signed by Schneidewin alone, to the first vol. (publ. 1839) of von Leutsch and Schneidewin (1839-51) 1.xv-xviii, double columns of Greek text over four pages to compare the corresponding explanations of proverbs in Zenobius and the Plato scholia. Less spectacular are the columns without texts (20 pages) *ibid.* 469ff. listing the sequence of proverbs in the edition as compared with that of four mss. (i.e. a concordance, or conspectus numerorum). Also note the columns at the end of vol 2.780-89, containing the 'numeri proverbiorum in editione Apostolii Pantiniana et Leutschiana inter se collati'. Tabular comparison of texts became a prominent feature of the literature on the Greek paroemiographers of the eighties and nineties of the last century: Crusius (1883), Cohn (1887), and esp. Cohn in Crusius and Cohn (1892) 238-53.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SOURCES FOR AËTIUS: PS.PLUTARCH AND HIS TRADITION

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1. *The work, its author and its date*¹

Among the vast corpus of Plutarch's writings is a work entitled *Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων φιλοσόφους φυσικῶν δογμάτων βιβλία ε'* (Planudean edition no. 51, Stephanus 58, 874–911). This work can certainly be identified with the following entry in the so-called

¹ When we started our research almost no work had been done on ps.Plutarch since Diels, with the exception of Mau's Teubner edition (1971). Since then the annotated Budé text of Lachenaud (1993) has appeared. Although it makes valuable observations, esp. on matters of detail, it will emerge that its method and results differ markedly from our own.

Lamprias catalogue of Plutarch's works:²

61 Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων φιλοσόφοις φυσικῆς ἐπιτομῆς βιβλία ε΄

This famous list is generally taken to represent the holdings of a large library and dated to the 3rd or 4th century.³ In our view, however, it is not impossible that it somehow or other goes back to the library of Plutarch himself.⁴ Two other listings in the same catalogue could also refer to this work:

183 Φυσικὴ ἐπιτομή

196 Φυσικῶν ἀρεσκόντων

Here, however, identifications are much less certain.⁵ Some two centuries after Plutarch's death there must have been a copy of the work in the library of Pamphilus at Caesarea, for Eusebius makes extensive use of the work in his *Praeparatio Evangelica*, referring to it as Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις φυσικῶν δογμάτων (14.13.9), and clearly regarding it as a work of the famous Plutarch of Chaeronea.⁶ A century later Cyril of Alexandria holds the same view, introducing its author as Πλούταρχος τοίνυν, ἀνὴρ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἄσημος γεγονώς and the source of his quote as ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ βιβλίῳ τῆς Φυσικῶν δογμάτων συναγωγῆς.⁷ At about the same time yet another bishop, Theodoret of Cyrrihus, refers to the work as Πλουτάρχου τὴν Περὶ τῶν τοῖς φιλοσόφοις δοξάντων ἐπιτομήν (CAG 4.31). The description of the work as an *Epitome* (shared with the Lamprian catalogue) is, as we shall see, exactly right.⁸

² We follow the text of the catalogue as given in Flacelière-Irigoin (1987) cccx–cccxviii, which differs slightly in the case of our entry from the same text at Ziegler (1951) 697–701, Sandbach (1969) 7–29.

³ Ziegler (1951) 697, Sandbach (1969) 7, Flacelière-Irigoin (1987) ccxxix, all following Treu (1873); Diels *DG* 27 argued for a Byzantine date.

⁴ The question should be re-examined. The chief argument against is no doubt the fact that the list is rather incomplete and carelessly compiled (cf. Ziegler *loc. cit.*). But which library a century or more after Plutarch's death would have such extensive holdings? Intriguing is the inclusion of a reference to a copy of Aristotle's *Topics* (no. 56). This is the kind of work Plutarch would have possessed (he refers to the work in general terms at *Mor.* 616D).

⁵ Ziegler (1951) 879 considers no. 196 to be a doublet, while Diels *DG* 27 thinks all three involve the same work. But there are other candidates for the latter two, e.g. the ps.Plutarchean *Stromateis* (Diels' suggestion at *DG* 157 that this work is meant by entry no. 184, Περὶ τῶν πρώτων φιλοσοφησάντων καὶ τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν is quite unconvincing).

⁶ This must be meant by ὁ Πλούταρχος at 14.13.9, 15.32.9.

⁷ *C. Jul.* 2.14; text at Burguière-Évieux (1985) 234.

⁸ But note that the wording of the title is unexpected, because elsewhere

The inclusion of the work in Lamprias' list and the subsequent identifications we have just listed are of course no guarantee of its authenticity.⁹ From the 17th century onwards most scholars were in agreement that the work cannot be genuine.¹⁰ What then was its origin and who was its author? The state of our evidence allows no more than hypotheses with varying degrees of plausibility. Diels' contemptuous suggestion (*DG* 65) that the perpetrator exploited the illustrious name of the philosopher in order to conceal the inner poverty of the work with a parrot's outward splendour, all for the purpose of making an undeserved profit, does not seem to us very compelling.¹¹ More attractive is the possibility envisaged by Ziegler that the *Epitome* may have been found among Plutarch's papers and subsequently published under his name.¹² Certainly the contents of the work are consistent with Plutarch's strong interests in the history of philosophy.¹³ Another relevant consideration is whether the work was meant to be published (or at least disseminated) or was originally prepared for private use as a kind of ὑπόμνημα.¹⁴ As we shall see, there was a long tradition in the ancient world, going back at least to Aristotle and Theophrastus of making *epitomes* of important or useful works.¹⁵ Instead of following the more common method of making excerpts, a scholar might choose to make a condensed version of a work,

Theodoret chiefly uses the anterior source Aëtius, and only appears to have knowledge of P via Eusebius, who gives a different title. Most likely he casually altered it on the basis of the contents which he read in Eusebius, but it remains possible that he had independent knowledge of the work (this is missed by Diels at *DG* 10).

⁹ There are, however, few indisputably inauthentic works in the Catalogue. No. 41 probably refers to the inauthentic Βίοι τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων (= no. 55 in printed editions of the *Moralia*). But no. 58 is most likely not identical with ps.Plut. *De fato* (= *Moralia* no. 42) because it is recorded as having two books. Kindstrand (1990) v regards the absence of *De Homero* in the list as an argument in favour of inauthenticity.

¹⁰ Cf. Ziegler (1951) 879, Lachenaud (1993) 15, and our discussion above at Ch. 1, §5–8.

¹¹ The scarce examples based on ancient testimony and not modern reconstruction given by Speyer (1971) 133f. offer Diels little support.

¹² Ziegler (1951) 880.

¹³ To our knowledge there are no doxographical passages in Plutarch's genuine works which suggest use of this particular document or other works like it. References to well-known *doxai* are found for example at *Mor.* 288B, 422Aff., 1115B and in *De facie* passim, but they are not directly dependent on the *Placita* as far as we can tell.

¹⁴ See also our conclusion below at p. 195.

¹⁵ See our discussion further below p. 183.

reducing the bulk but preserving the main lines of thought. Naturally little attention would be paid to literary polish, and even accuracy might not have top priority. From this perspective even Diels' argument that the stylistic poverty of the work belies its attribution to Plutarch might be questioned. But it would certainly be going too far to claim that the Chaeronean himself was responsible, above all in the light of the considerable stylistic differences between Plutarch's genuine writings and this work that scholars have pointed out.¹⁶ A final possibility is that the work was written by someone with the same name.¹⁷ This would economically explain both the attribution and the presence in the catalogue. As Diels rightly pointed out (*DG* 65), the name Plutarch is by no means rare.¹⁸ There is, however, only one other literary personage with this name known to us before the 3rd century.¹⁹ We shall continue, therefore, to call our unknown author ps.Plutarch (P).

Whether the author is an unknown Plutarch or a deliberately pseudonymous Plutarch is also of relevance for the dating of the work. In the former case the *terminus post quem* can only be the work of Aëtius himself, since the reduced version unsurprisingly reveals no datable new features. In the latter case one might think it necessary to allow some time for the fame of Plutarch to spread. Since, however, he was already well known in his life-time, this hardly yields a *t.p.q.* beyond the beginning of the 2nd century.²⁰ For the *terminus ante quem* two important pieces of literary evidence first have to be weighed. Both Philo (*Prov.* 1.22) and Athenagoras (*Legatio* 6.2-4, 16.1, 23.4) record material that is verbally parallel to

¹⁶ Cf. Weissenberger (1896) 44-6, also Italian transl. (1994) 115-8. To be sure he takes insufficiently into account the specific stylistic features of the *Placita*, but some of the observations made, e.g. on choice of disjunctives, lexical features, and the lack of avoidance of hiatus, are valuable. Hein (1914) 178 adds that P's use of the optative marks it as pseudepigraphic.

¹⁷ In this case, of course, it is unlikely that the list of Lamprias' catalogue was directly derived from Plutarch's own library.

¹⁸ Cf. Fraser-Matthews (1987-94) 1.374, 2.369 (mainly inscriptions), Preisigke (1922) 333 (papyri).

¹⁹ Based on the entry in *RE* (where no. 12, a personage in Athenaeus, is taken to be fictitious).

²⁰ For Plutarch's fame during his life-time, and his widespread reputation after his death, cf. Hirzel (1912) 74-82, Jones (1971) 28ff., Russell (1973) 142-3. Only two Plutarachean papyri, however, are recorded by Pack (1965²) 83, one dated to c. 180, the other to the 3rd century. A third group of papyrus fragments belong to the work under discussion.

doxai in P. If these extracts are regarded as coming from P, then in the first case the *t.a.q.* is 40–50 CE (and a copy must have been present in Alexandria), in the second c. 177, the date of Athenagoras' speech.²¹ In both cases there is a serious snag. We have to determine whether the authors used P himself, or whether they drew on his *Vorlage*, i.e. A or even a different tradition. It is not impossible that a parallel source was used, since use of doxographical material on the ὀρχαί was clearly widespread. In the case of Philo we are convinced that he does reveal use of P.²² This might seem to result in an unacceptably early dating, i.e. anterior to Plutarch himself. We accept Diels' solution, with which he commenced his 'Prolegomena', namely that the relevant Philonic passage is a later interpolation (*DG* 1–4). In the case of Athenagoras, however, we disagree with Diels, who concluded that he too used P, and thus was able to reach a *t.a.q.* of 177 (*DG* 4–5). The parallels to which he draws attention are too general to allow this conclusion beyond all doubt. We prefer to regard these as drawing on the broader tradition of A, and so will discuss this document in chapter six below.²³ We conclude, therefore, that although a 2nd century CE date seems very plausible from the viewpoint of the work's authorship and contents,²⁴ there is no documentary proof in its support.²⁵

There is, however, a *t.a.q.* earlier than Eusebius which was unknown to Diels, namely a collection of papyrus fragments found in Antinoopolis and published in 1960–67. The handwriting of this document has been dated to the third century, which would make it the first *certain* witness to the work. The papyri, which will be discussed in further detail below, thus tend to support the dates already suggested above, i.e. between 100–250, with 150 as a likely date within that timespan.

²¹ On the latter date see Schoedel (1972) xi, Barnes (1975), Grant (1988) 100, Marcovich (1990b) 1–2.

²² To be discussed in further detail below, p. 161ff.

²³ See below p. 312ff.

²⁴ We note that Hein (1914) 176–8 agrees with a 2nd century dating on the basis of his investigation of the use of the optative.

²⁵ The rather vague evidence in Irenaeus to be discussed below, p. 163, also offers no solid support.

2. *A complex textual tradition*

During the centuries that followed the book's first emergence it enjoyed a modest popularity, ensuring its presence in the worlds of both Arabic and Byzantine learning. As we shall see, in the 9th century Qus̄tā Ibn Lūqā made an translation in Arabic in Baghdad,²⁶ while two centuries later the Byzantine intellectual Michael Psellus used the book extensively for the structure and general contents of his *De omnifaria doctrina*.²⁷ Throughout the entire period from Eusebius to Psellus the book was used, no doubt because of its scholastic and easily absorbed structure, as a source for extracts of varying length on philosophers and philosophical subjects. For this reason the direct and indirect tradition of its text are entwined in a way that is quite unusual for an ancient work. Diels investigated the relation of the two traditions to each other, basing his results on the detailed comparison of various readings, and summarized his results in an impressive table at *DG* 40, which includes both traditions and spans a history of some 1350 years. Our aim is certainly not to do this work all over again. Rather we will now examine the main representatives of the indirect tradition, before focussing on some of the problems associated with P's text. But first we should take a closer look at the papyri that chance has thrown our way.

3. *The papyri*

Among the papyri found at the Egyptian township of Antinopolis by J. Johnson in 1913-14 are a dozen tiny scraps which were identified as deriving from P and published by Barns in 1960-67.²⁸ These were not used by Mau in his Teubner edition and have hitherto gone largely unnoticed.²⁹ The papyri are the

²⁶ See further below p. 152ff.

²⁷ See the edition of Westerink (1948), who notes (p. 2) that the first version of the work was entitled 'Επιλύσεις σύντομοι ἀποριῶν φυσικῶν, and that its 'plan was obviously to deal with the subjects treated in Plutarch's *Placita*, from which, however, as a rule only the headings of the sections are taken'.

²⁸ Barns-Zilliacus (1960-67) 2.74-83, 3.181-2 (by Barns), = nos. 85 & 213.

²⁹ Also most regrettably by Runia (1989); Xenophanes' lemma (2.25.2) is found in fr.1 recto (and it does not support the final solution given to the textual problem raised by this text). Our attention to the papyri was drawn by a short survey of the fate of Plutarch's writings by Irigoin at Flacelière-Irigoin (1987) ccxxvii-ccxxxviii, in which our little treatise plays a prominent

remains of a codex (!). It appears to have been luxury edition, since the paper is of good quality and it possesses unusually wide outer margins (about 4 cm on both sides). The hand is dated by the editors, as we noted above, to the third century.³⁰ Since the fragments range from 2.23 to 5.24, the deduction is warranted that the codex contained the entire work. Although the width of the existing fragments is not more than 12 letters at the most (and most scraps are much narrower), through comparison with the edition of Diels the editor was able to reconstruct most of the text. Since the scraps correspond in all cases to the lemmata in P and not S, we can be certain that they represent the condensed compendium and not the original Aëtian work. Interesting information is given on a number of textual aspects. In each case we shall give one or two examples.

(i) Various scraps contain *chapter-titles* (frs. 3v, 5v, 5r, 7v). The scribe marked the chapters by starting a new line, indenting it about 4 letters, and placing stripes above and below the number of the chapter and the last two letters of its title. In fr. 3v there is no room for the long title *Περὶ θαλάσσης, πῶς συνέστη καὶ πῶς ἐστι πικρά* found in the Greek mss. (= 3.16) and E Q, and probably also not for the title *Περὶ θαλάσσης διὰ τί ἄλμυρά ἐστιν* in G. The editors suggest *Περὶ θαλάσσης* which is the title Photius gives for S 1.37. For the number the papyrus gives only ι[, which could correspond to the ις' of the mss. In fr. 5v the papyrus again indicates a shorter title *περι παθων σω]ματικων*, against the longer *Περὶ παθῶν σωματικῶν καὶ εἰ συναλγεί τούτοις ἡ ψυχὴ* in P (= 4.23).³¹ Either the scribe decided to confine the length of titles to one line where possible, or the textual tradition contained short titles at this point.³² Much more intriguing, however, is the title in fr. 5r, which gives only the number as follows: μβ, i.e. 42. Since this corresponds to the text *δ' εἰ σῶμα τὸ σπέρμα* in the mss. (i.e. 5.4), the editor is perplexed. It can hardly be accidental that the number has been altered from δ to μβ. We can only think of one solution to this

role. Lachenaud (1993) only refers to the find in passing (10, where 'deux fragments' should be 'douze'), and ignores the find in his critical apparatus.

³⁰ No further specification, but for the writing of the letter δ the editors compare a papyrus from the later third century (2.74).

³¹ G has only *Περὶ παθῶν*, while Photius records S as having combined two chapters with the title *Περὶ ἀναπνοῆς καὶ παθῶν* (= 1.60).

³² Further on titles below at p. 137, 143, 158, 180f.

puzzle. If books III–IV–V were combined together in a single book and the chapters continuously numbered, this chapter would be no. 44. It would only need two chapters to be joined together twice (e.g. 4.2 and 4.3) or deleted, and the number 42 would be correct. Such a division into two books, the one containing Books I–II, the other Books III–IV–V, would result in two parts of almost equal size (62 chapters & 49 pages Teubner text v. 71 chapters & 55 pages). The division would then be between ἀρχαί-οὐράνια in Book A, μετάρσια-πρόσγεια in Book B (cf. 2.1, 3.1, 3.8). The conclusion would have to be, then, that an early version of the work existed in two books, rather than the five of the mss. tradition. But this hypothesis has too tenuous a basis to be taken seriously.

(ii) In fr. 1r the *name-label* Anaxagoras preceding Democritus, found in all our other texts is not present. This illustrates how easily these could be altered or lost in the course of transmission. (Note also the omission of a complete lemma below.)

(iii) On a number of occasions the papyrus supports *the text in other witnesses* rather than in the directly transmitted Greek mss. In fr. 4 (= 4.8.3-4)³³ the papyrus deletes the word γίνεται which occurs in all the mss. Remarkably this omission also occurs in both S and Nemesius, who go back to A and not P.³⁴ The emendation διὰ φαντασίας is also confirmed (Mau is too conservative in preserving the mss. διὰ φαντασίαν). A much more interesting case is in fr. 6v, an extract from 5.1 Περί μαντικῆς:³⁵

] [
] καταθιο[τητα
 εν]θουσιάστικον
 τ]ο ἀστρομαν[τικον
 5 τ]ο ἱεροσκοπικ[ον
] μέρη της μ[αντικης
 Πυθαγο]ρας δε μον[ον

Compare this fragmentary text with the readings in P and G (agreements are underlined):

ps.Plutarch 5.1, 133.19-24 Mau:

Πλάτων καὶ οἱ Στωικοὶ τὴν μαντικὴν εἰσάγουσι κατὰ τὸ ἔνθεον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐνθεαστικόν [κατὰ θειότητα τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅπερ εἶπεν ἐνθουσιαστικόν], καὶ τὸ ὀνειροπολικόν. οὗτοι τὰ πλεῖστα μέρη τῆς μαντικῆς ἐγκρίνουσι.

³³ See fuller text at Barns-Zilliacus (1960–67) 3.182.

³⁴ On Nemesius and his difficult relation to A see our discussion in Ch. 6, below at p. 291ff.

³⁵ The discussion at Lachenaud (1993) 10 is quite inadequate.

Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ἐπίκουρος ἀναιροῦσι τὴν μαντικὴν.
Πυθαγόρας δὲ μόνον τὸ θυτικὸν οὐκ ἐγκρίνει.

ps.Galen 105 Diels:

Πλάτων καὶ οἱ Στωικοὶ τὴν μαντικὴν εἰσάγουσι· καὶ γὰρ θεόπεμπτον εἶναι, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐνθουσιαστικόν καὶ κατὰ θειότητα τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐνθουσιαστικόν, καὶ τὸ ὄνειροπολικόν. καὶ τὸ ἀστρονομικόν καὶ τὸ ὄρνεοσκοπικόν.

Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ἐπίκουρος ἀναιροῦσι τὴν μαντικὴν.
Πυθαγόρας δὲ μόνον τὸ θυτικὸν οὐκ ἐγκρίνει.

As Barns remarks,³⁶ it is not possible to reduce the papyrus to either of these texts, both of which would seem to be corrupt. Diels, followed by Mau, regarded κατὰ θειότητα τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐνθουσιαστικόν in P as a gloss, even though it was supported by G. This phrase must now be *retained*. G's account of the parts of mantic is closer to the papyrus (τὸ ἀστρονομικόν καὶ τὸ ὄρνεοσκοπικόν corresponds to τὸ ἀστρομαντικόν καὶ τὸ ἱεροσκοπικόν). But the summarizing sentence of this lemma is found in the papyrus and P, but not in G. On the other hand the Xenophanes-Epicurus lemma is omitted entirely in the papyrus, whereas it is present in both P and G. On a number of other occasions the papyrus supports G against P (frs. 5r.6, 6r.1, 7v.6, 9a.4(?)). At the end of fr. 5v the papyrus fragment does not contain the words καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνδρείων καὶ δειλῶν, which are also deleted, it would seem, by G. Diels' decision to regard these words as a gloss, in which he is not followed by Mau, thus receives strong support. In fr. 9r the reverse occurs. The papyrus retains the words ἀτελῇ δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἄωρα καὶ ἄκαρπα ὄντα at 5.23.1, which are not present in G and were bracketed as a gloss by Diels, but are retained by Mau.

(iv) Finally we note that in the following fragments *the mss. text* as given in Diels and Mau cannot be made to fit: frs. 2v, 2r, 3r, 3v (?), 4v, 4r, 6v, 7v, 9r. This amounts to a rather substantial proportion of the total. The editor's conclusion that, apart from two notable cases of *parablepsis* in frs. 5v, 7r, the text does not vary significantly from that of Diels can in our view not be sustained.

The tiny scraps we have discussed tantalize more than they inform. They do, however, in our view allow an important conclusion. The nature of a doxographical manual like P was such that it encouraged numerous textual variants. Some of these are trivial, such as whether multiple name-labels are joined by καὶ or

³⁶ Barns-Zilliaceus (1960–67) 2.82.

not (fr. 6r, with G against P). Some are more significant, as in the case of fr. 6v discussed at some length above. The problem is particularly acute in the case of the chapter headings. This inherent tendency to variation makes it futile to try to determine with precision what material is original and what is later glossed. Even more than in the case of ‘ordinary’ texts one cannot hope to reach more than an approximation to what the text may have been at the outset of its career.

4. *Eusebius*

The extensive use that Eusebius makes of P is found in Books XIV and XV of his *Praeparatio Evangelica*.³⁷ The context in which this usage occurs is important, since it not only explains the Church father’s procedure, but also shows how the method and content of doxography itself was highly suitable for his purpose.

At the beginning of Book XIV Eusebius informs his reader that he is finished with his presentation (books XI–XIII) of the philosophy of Plato in its agreement (συμφωνία) and disagreement (διαφωνία) with the Hebrew scriptures, Plato being the Greek philosopher who most nearly approached the true philosophy (i.e. Christianity). He will now turn to the remaining schools of thought (αἱρέσεις). We note the significant titles of the following two chapters (§2–3): Περὶ τῆς τῶν φιλοσόφων πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφωνίας καὶ μάχης, Περὶ τῆς τῶν καθ’ Ἑβραίους συμφωνίας. Whereas the Hebrew prophets proclaim a single unified truth, the Greek philosophers do nothing but argue and dispute among each other. Just as Plato slanders his predecessors, so the philosophers after Plato either refute his ideas or distort his heritage. What is characteristic of the Greek philosophers is their διαφωνία and λογομαχία, as witnessed in their διαστάσεις τῶν αἱρέσεων and their ἀντικαταστάσεις τῶν δόξων.³⁸ Eusebius is using the terminology of the *dissensio philosophorum* that in its apologetic application goes back to

³⁷ No detailed discussion of Eusebius’ use of P has been presented since Diels. The recent edition of Des Places (1987) is disappointing in this regard; but see the remarks at 19, 118–9. Lachenaud (1993) is virtually silent on Eusebius, strangely leaving out his use of P in his list of *Testimonia*, while taking up that of Cyril and others. Pertinent remarks on Eusebius’ use of sceptic διαφωνία and the *Placita* in Riedweg (1994) 109–15.

³⁸ See esp. 14.2.1, 7; but the terminology is pervasive throughout Eusebius’ own comments in Books XIV–XV. Cf also below, text to n. 133.

Philo, but was in turn adapted by him from earlier sceptical attacks on dogmatist philosophy.³⁹

But Eusebius' method is not to give lengthy analyses and refutations of Greek philosophical doctrines on his own account. He prefers to exploit the writings of the philosophers themselves, so that their failure to reach the truth is proven by the quotations (μαρτυρία) of their own words (14.1.2). Hence the lengthy *verbatim* excerpts from the works of Greek philosophers which today furnish us with so much priceless material that otherwise would have been lost. The use of P's manual fits extremely well into this programme. Merely by writing out the various collections of δόξαι, Eusebius can show how the philosophers are at loggerheads with themselves. It should be noted how he introduces the work for the first time:

14.13.9: σκεψόμεθα δῆτα λοιπὸν ἤδη ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενοι τὰς τῶν εἰρημένων φυσικῶν φιλοσόφων δογματικὰς ἀντιδοξίας. γράφει δὲ ἀθρόως ἀπάντων τῶν Πλατωνικῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ Πυθαγορείων τῶν τε ἔτι πρεσβυτέρων φυσικῶν φιλοσόφων ἐπικεκλημένων καὶ αὖ πάλιν τῶν νεωτέρων Περιπατητικῶν τε καὶ Στωϊκῶν καὶ Ἐπικουρείων τὰς δόξας συναγαγὼν ὁ Πλούταρχος ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε "Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις φυσικῶν δογμάτων", ἐξ ὧν παραθήσομαι ταῦτα.

(Let us make a fresh start then and examine the doctrinal disagreements of the above-mentioned natural philosophers. For Plutarch has collected together and written out in a body the opinions of all the Platonists and Pythagoreans and of the even older natural philosophers as they are called, as well as of the more recent Peripatetics and Stoics and Epicureans, in the book which he entitled 'On the physical doctrines maintained by the philosophers.' From these opinions I will set out the following.)

In two later passages, when he returns to the *Placita*, further details are added:

15.22.69: διό μοι ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ τὰς περὶ τῶνδε δόξας ὁμοῦ συναγαγεῖν τὰς τε διαστάσεις αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ τύπου τὸ μάταιον ἐπιθεωρῆσαι.

(Therefore it seems to me necessary also to collect together the opinions concerning these matters and their conflicts (i.e. of the philosophers), and so observe the futility of their arrogance.)

15.32.9: ταῦτα δὲ πάντα διὰ μυρίων τοῖς περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος κατεσκευασμένα ἐπειδὴ (συν)τεμὼν ὁ Πλούταρχος ἐν ὀλίγοις συνείλεν, ἐπὶ ταῦτόν ὁμοῦ συναγαγὼν τὰς ἀπάντων ἀποφάσεις καὶ τὰς διαφωνίας αὐτῶν, ἡγοῦμαι

³⁹ See the full discussion in Mansfeld (1988b), especially 89–102 with reference to Philo *Her.* 246–8.

καὶ ἡμῖν οὐκ ἄχρηστα γενήσεσθαι παρατεθέντα εἰς τὴν εὐλογον αὐτῶν παραίτησιν. ὅτε γὰρ αὐτοὶ πρὸς σφῶς αὐτοὺς ἐναντίοι κατὰ διάμετρον ἔστησαν μάχας τε καὶ πολέμους, πλέον δὲ οὐδὲν καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐξῆψαν, τὰ τοῦ πέλας ἕκαστοι φιλοτιμίᾳ λόγων ἀπελέγξαντες, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἡμῖν ἀσφαλῆ τὴν περὶ τούτων ἐποχὴν γεγονέναι πᾶς ὁστισοῦν ὁμολογήσειε;

(All these arguments which the philosophers we are talking about have furnished in thousands of books Plutarch has epitomized and condensed into a few chapters, collecting together all their denials and disagreements. In my view it will be valuable to set them out for the purposes of a reasonable refutation. For since they stood diametrically opposed to each other and engaged in nothing else but battles and warfare, each refuting the views of his neighbour in doctrinal rivalry, surely everyone would come to the reasonable conclusion that the safe course for us is suspension of judgment on these issues.)

P's method, according to Eusebius, is to condense⁴⁰ and organize the arguments of the philosophers and in so doing to gather together (συναγαγών, cf. the book's title) their disagreements (διαφωνία again). The result provides a useful overview for the apologist. Particularly interesting is the term ἀντιδοξίαι (14.13.9), which Eusebius appears to have coined⁴¹ on an analogy with διάστασις and ἀντικατάστασις in order to indicate how δόξαι as presented in P reveal doctrinal discord among the philosophers.

Turning now to the actual passages from P cited by Eusebius, it is important for us to observe that they fall neatly into two separate groups.

(1) In Book XIV he draws on the two longest chapters in P, 1.3 on the ἀρχαί and 1.7 on theology. Of these chapters he makes *selective* use, not citing them in their entirety. His procedure can be summarized as follows:

(a) 14.14.1ff.: quotation of 1.3.1 (Thales), 2 (Anaximander), 3 (Anaximenes), 8 (Heraclitus-Hippasus), 9 (Democritus-Epicurus), 10 (Empedocles).

(b) 14.14.7: the conclusion is drawn that the ἀρχαί of these φυσικοὶ φιλόσοφοι are purely corporeal and do not recognize a divine cause. The first to do so was Anaxagoras.

⁴⁰ The conjecture (συν)τεμών is ours; cf. the text at 15.23.8 cited below p. 138.

⁴¹ It is only found here and at 14.8.4. The verb ἀντιδοξέω or ἀντιδοξάζω usually means no more than 'have an opposite view to', but does occur in a number of 'sceptical' texts; cf. Plato *Tht.* 170d-71a, Diod. Sic. 2.29.6 (discussed further at the end of this section), Lucian *De parasito* 29, Sext. Emp. *PH* 1.65, 2.43, 3.182. For a purely 'doxographical' usage cf. DL 9.18.

(c) 14.15: the well-known passage on Anaxagoras at Plato *Phd.* 97b-99b is cited (cf. the procedure of S to be examined below p. 265ff.). Eusebius adds that Xenophanes and Pythagoras also philosophized about the immortality of God and the soul.

(d) 14.16: quotation from 1.7; the long first lemma is partially cited (64. 19-22, 65.1-5, 65.26-67.4). The remaining lemmata 2-9 are copied out in their entirety.

(e) 14.16.11: Eusebius concludes that also the φυσικοί, when they introduced mind and God to the cosmos, fell into discord (αἱ περὶ θεοῦ διαστάσεις τε καὶ δυσφημῖαι), but that these thinkers were but children⁴² compared with the ἀρχαιολογία of the Hebrews.

(2) In book XV the procedure is different because chapters are cited *in their entirety* in a single long block of quotation that extends from 15.23 to 15.61. The element of selectivity here lies in the choice of chapters to be cited. In our summary we start a new line every time Eusebius breaks the sequence in P.

(a) 15.22. Now that the exposition of Peripatetic and Stoic philosophy is completed, Eusebius turns to the φυσιολογία of all the philosophers together, and especially how they conceived of and worshipped the heavenly bodies as visible gods.

(b) 15.23. Quotes P 2.20, 21, 22 (sun).

(c) 15.26. Quotes 2.25, 26, 27, 28 (moon).

(d) 15.30. Quotes 2.13, 14 (stars).

(e) 15.31. So much for the φαινόμενοι θεοί; now we turn to the cosmos as a whole.

(f) 15.32. Quotes all but the last sentence of 1.4 (cosmogony). He then remarks that in the area of cosmology there is also a πλείστη λογομαχία παντοίων περὶ προτάσεων, and proceeds to list the titles from P of the chapters that he will excerpt (this list is analysed by Diels *DG* 6-7).

(g) 15.33. Quotes 1.5 (unity of cosmos).

(h) 15.34. Quotes 2.3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 (cosmos as a whole and heaven).

(i) 15.43. Quotes 1.8, 9, 10 (demons, matter, idea).

(j) 15.46. Quotes 2.15, 16, 17, 18 (stars again)

(k) 15.50. Quotes 2.24 (eclipse of sun)

(l) 15.51. Quotes 2.29, 30, 31, 32 (eclipse of moon etc.).

(m) 15.54. Transition from οὐράνια and μετάρσια (cf. P 3. *pref.*) to earth, followed by quotation of 3.9, 10, 11, 12 (actually 13).

(n) 15.59. Quotes 3.16 (on the sea)

(o) 15.60. Finally, in order to show that they who physiologize on the cosmos and its parts do not even know their own make-up, Eusebius cites 4.4, 5 (on the parts of the soul and the ἡγεμονικόν), to show

⁴² The motif based on Plato *Tim.* 22b, cited at *PE* 10.4.19; cf. Runia (1986) 74-7.

how here too they disagree (διαπεφωνήκασιν) among themselves.⁴³

(p) 15.62. The futile πολυπραγμοσύνη revealed in this material is also condemned by Socrates, followed by a quotation from Xenophon's *Memorabilia*.

The chapters that Eusebius thus draws on are 1.4–6, 8–10, 2.3–11, 13–18, 20–22, 24–32, 3.9–11, 13, 16, 4.4–5. The concentration on book 2 is marked, with only 5 of the 32 chapters not copied out. The extracts from Books 1, 3 and 4 are far more selective.

Both Diels and, in more general terms, Mras praise Eusebius effusively for his strict fidelity to the text of the authors he cites.⁴⁴ As we have already seen, such close adherence is an integral part of his method, allowing the Greek philosophers to condemn themselves by their own words. Nevertheless in our view it is necessary to distinguish, as Diels does not, between the two different methods of selection analysed above. Although the basic technique is the same, the textual fidelity is greater in the second than in the first group. We shall briefly examine both in turn.

1. In turning to the first principles and theology in Book XIV Eusebius' interest is, needless to say, entirely theological. For him there is only one ἀρχή, God the creator of the universe, and the philosophers are adjudicated inasmuch as they do or do not recognize this single principle. Eusebius' theological perspective not only differs from that of his original source, but in fact induces him very subtly to alter or 'doctor' the source material in a manner that that has hitherto remained unnoticed.

So, when Eusebius cites various lemmata from P 1.3, as was outlined above, he selects those views that designate material entities or quasi-material concepts as ἀρχαί. The *doxai* of Anaxagoras and Pythagoras, which do mention a νοῦς or θεός as efficient cause (P 1.4, 7; note esp. 56.6ff. Mau) are passed over in silence. Eusebius underlines this by affirming that ἡ περὶ ἀρχῶν δόξα of these first φυσικοί did not admit any god or creator or incorporeal powers or anything not perceived by the senses.⁴⁵ The first of the

⁴³ Parallel 'scepticism' in cosmology (esp. the heavens) and anthropology (esp. the soul) is again an old theme going back to Philo in the Judaeo-Christian tradition; cf. *Somn.* 1.21–32, where the *Placita* tradition is cited. See further Wendland (1897), Mansfeld (1990a) 3117–21.

⁴⁴ Diels *DG* 6–10, Mras (1954–6) 1.lv ff., both appealing to Freudenthal (1875–79) 1.1–14, 182.

⁴⁵ This is ultimately derived from a philosophical commonplace going back to Aristotle *Metaph.* A, i.e. that the earliest philosophers did not take

Greeks to do this was Anaxagoras with his causative νοῦς. (Later at 14.15.11 he has a twinge of conscience and adds that Xenophanes⁴⁶ and Pythagoras also spoke about the indestructibility of God and the immortality of the soul, but further adds that these were Anaxagoras' contemporaries (!), i.e. his earlier claim is not invalidated.⁴⁷) Meanwhile a little chronological problem has been solved in an underhand way. At 1.3.9 P had given the views of Epicurus on the ἀρχαί, introducing him as Ἐπίκουρος Νεοκλέους Ἀθηναῖος κατὰ Δημόκριτον φιλοσοφήσας. Eusebius alters at §14.5 to Δημόκριτος, ᾧ μετὰ πλείστον Ἐπίκουρος ἠκολούθησεν.⁴⁸ The reason for the change is apparent. Eusebius wants to list the old φυσικοί, who are older or coeval with Anaxagoras. Democritus fits into this scheme, Epicurus does not. Also the remaining *doxai* of Socrates-Plato, Aristotle and Zeno, which have non-physical ἀρχαί are left out.

In §16, however, when he turns to the *doxai* on 'who is God', the bishop finds himself in more serious trouble. The first long lemma of P 1.7 on atheists and a critique of Anaxagorean and Platonic philosophy fits in nicely enough.⁴⁹ But then he comes to the lemmata on the pre-Socratic philosophers. We place the texts side-by-side:

into account the efficient cause.

⁴⁶ The reference to Xenophanes, who is not mentioned in P 1.3 or 1.7, is somewhat unexpected. The extract on this philosopher from the ps.Plutarchean *Stromateis* at 1.8.4 only mentions his anti-theological stance. Eusebius may be thinking of the famous theological pronouncement (21B23 DK) cited by Clement at *Str.* 5.109.1. But this too does not strictly speaking discuss God's ἀφθαρσία.

⁴⁷ There are many confusions in Eusebian chronography; cf. Mosshammer (1979), Mansfeld (1979) 61–9. But that he is here being wilfully vague and inaccurate can hardly be doubted. In the *Chronicle* Pythagoras is dated to *acme* 530/29, death 497/6, Anaxagoras to birth 499/8, arrival in Athens 456/5 (= *acme*), death 428/7.

⁴⁸ The words μετὰ πλείστον ('after a very long period') seem to us suspect, since there is no need to stress the chronological aspect in this context. κατὰ πλείστον ('for the most part') makes more sense, not only because the lemma itself indicates small divergences between Democritus and Epicurus, but also because later on Eusebius will quote 1.7.9, where it emerges that Epicurus does have a theology.

⁴⁹ But note how the aggressive critique of Plato's theology at 65.21–6 Mau (Epicurean in origin) is deleted as being too harsh on the favoured philosopher. For a full analysis of this complex passage see further Runia (1997).

ps.Plutarch

Θαλῆς νοῦν τοῦ κόσμου θεόν.
 Ἀναξίμανδρος τοὺς ἀστέρας
 οὐρανίους θεούς.
 Δημόκριτος νοῦν τὸν θεόν, ἐμπυρο-
 ειδῆ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴν.
 Πυθαγόρας τῶν ἀρχῶν τὴν μὲν
 μονάδα θεὸν καὶ τάγαθόν...

Eusebius

Θαλῆς τὸν κόσμον εἶναι τὸν θεόν.
 Ἀναξίμανδρος τοὺς ἀστέρας
 οὐρανίους θεούς.
 Δημόκριτος θεὸν ἐν πυρὶ
 σφαιροειδῆ τὴν κόσμον ψυχὴν.
 Πυθαγόρας τῶν ἀρχῶν τὴν
 μονάδα θεὸν καὶ τάγαθόν ...

It is theoretically not impossible, we realize, that the text given by Eusebius was present in his copy, but it would be a remarkable coincidence that it fits in so well with his preconceived view that none of the φυσικοὶ before Anaxagoras regarded the ἀρχή (i.e. God) as a νοῦς. We prefer the conclusion that the bishop has adapted his text to the requirements of his theological perspective. In the case of the Democritean lemma it is to be suspected that he found the reading ἐν πυρὶ σφαιροειδῆ in his text, since the mss. reading ἐμπυροειδῆ gives an equally good, if not better, materialist theology, i.e. the incentive for change is missing (S reads ἐν πυρὶ σφαιροειδεῖ). All Eusebius did was drop the word νοῦν.

Finally we should also note how Eusebius cleverly exploits the fact that in these early chapters—and nowhere else in the compendium (except briefly at 4.19.3)—P (or Aëtius before him) offers direct criticism of the authors under discussion, using formulas such as ἀμαρτάνει δ' οὗτος μὴ λέγων κτλ.⁵⁰ Indeed P's criticism at 1.3.2-3 that the efficient cause is not recognized only serves to accentuate Eusebius' own view of the theological deficiencies of these *doxai*. At 14.16.3 he draws extra attention to such criticism by interrupting the citation from P and adding the words οἷς ἐπιλέγει before his explicit criticism of the theology of Anaxagoras and Plato is given.

2. In Book XV, when Eusebius is not longer selective in his presentation of *doxai* from a single chapter, but merely selects the chapters that interest him, he remains almost completely faithful to his source, merely interspersing some brief connective comments. Here too, however, it can be seen that his own theological concerns are dominant. These encourage him to deviate from the basic structure of P with its logical sequence:⁵¹ principles, cosmos

⁵⁰ On these passages see Mansfeld (1992a) 109–10.

⁵¹ This sequential structure is ultimately derived from Plato's *Timaeus*, Aristotle's *Lehrschriften* (see esp. *Meteor.* 1.1, 328a20 ff.) and other sources.

as whole, heaven, stars, sun, moon, meteorological phenomena, earth, psychology (man), physiology (man and animals). He thus commences with the sun as ὁ μέγας τῶν κατ' οὐρανῶν φαινόμενων θεός (§25.4) and the other heavenly bodies as φαινόμενοι θεοί (§31.2). The fact that P's manual contains very little astral theology does not appear to worry him. Thereafter he turns to the cosmos as a whole and its other parts. The sequence of his selection is not always very logical (e.g. the placement of the chapters of eclipses at §50-51), but only on one occasion is the sequence of thought really problematic. At 15.43 he cites 1.8 on demons which begins with the words παρακειμένως δὲ τῷ περὶ θεῶν λόγῳ. The original text in P refers to 1.7, but what precedes in Eusebius are the sequence of chapters on the cosmos as a whole and the heaven. The transition is undeniably clumsy (even if the cosmos and the heavens were sometimes regarded as divine), but does illustrate how far Eusebius is prepared to go in retaining the *verbatim* text of the source. Somewhat surprising, perhaps, is the citation of only two chapters on the nature of man (it was time to round off the work). But in so doing Eusebius touches ever so briefly on the relation between the cosmos as macrocosm and man as microcosm, which earlier philosophers, including notably Philo, had exploited in the same basic sceptical direction.⁵²

Turning now to the more detailed aspects of the text of Eusebius' citations, we briefly note the following:

(i) The *chapter titles* recorded by Eusebius very often reveal a briefer form than in P (in this he agrees with the papyri). We shall return to this problem further below. He also appears to make one mistake. At 15.58 the title is Περὶ ἐγκλίσεως γῆς, but the contents is taken from the next chapter Περὶ κινήσεως γῆς. Diels *DG* 7 thinks this chapter must have been missing in his text of P, and that it is evidence of how slavishly E followed his source. But it is equally if not more likely that a chapter has fallen out in E's own text (through scribal error) rather than in the original P (the absence of the chapter Περὶ ἐγκλίσεως γῆς in G is not relevant since no mistake is made in the headings). Diels points to the fact that also in the catalogue in 15.32 the second title is missing. But Mras (1954-6) 2.407 counters that also the listing Περὶ γῆς σχήματος

Contrast the differing order in Epicurus and Lucretius, as postulated by Sedley (1974), (1984) and Erler (1994a) 95-6. If the original order of Lucretius' poem was books 1, 2, 5, 6, 3, 4 as has often been argued (e.g. by Townend (1979)), then the correspondence with the *Placita* would be much greater. But this hypothesis is far from compelling.

⁵² See above at n. 39.

covers two chapters and refuses to accept Diels' emendation to *Περὶ γῆς (καὶ) σχήματος*.

(ii) Only a very limited number of *lemmata* are missing in E, namely 2.14.2 (Cleanthes) at 15.31 (only two words), 2.3.1 (introductory lemma) at 15.34, 2.11.3 (Aristotle) at 15.42 (text in P manifestly corrupt), 2.32.4 (final anonymous lemma) at 15.54. Only the second omission is suspicious, since E might not wish to emphasize that all Greek philosophers except the atomists and Aristotle support the notion of providence.

(iii) Also in the case of the *name-labels*, where mistakes are not hard to make, E is remarkably accurate. At 15.35.1 (= P 2.4.1) he includes Plato, agreeing with G against P Q Cyril.⁵³ At §48 (2.17.4) his Πλάτων κοινῶς is better than P's Πλάτων οἱ Στωικοί, which Mau (but not Lachenaud) too conservatively retains. At §56 (3.10.1) καὶ οἱ ἄπ' αὐτῶν is left out. At §61 (= 4.5) Ἐπίκουρος is taken to precede οἱ Στωικοί in §6 rather than be appended to Parmenides in §5 as in P. This might be E's own decision because of the unusual position of the label at the end of the *doxa*. All other name-labels are accurate. Important is the retention of the label Socrates, preceding that of Plato, at §45.2 (= 1.10.2, cf. also 14.17.7, = 1.7.6), which Diels wrongly regards as an interpolation (see further below p. 149, 156, 176).

(iv) The *textual differences* between E and P, mostly recorded by Mras in his apparatus, are greater than one might expect in the light of Diels' and Mras' effusive praise. They are particularly striking in the first chapter on the sun (15.23). In general one observes a slight tendency to *simplify* or *normalize* the text. We give two examples found in this chapter: §23.2 (= P 2.20.2) the difficult phrase συναθροιζόντων δὲ τὸν ἥλιον followed by the alternative view ἢ νέφος πεπυρωμένον becomes the more straightforward συναθροιζόντων δὲ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκ νέφω πεπυρωμένων; §23.8 *ad fin.* ὥς δὲ βραχέως εἰρησθαι συντεμόντα, ἀνταύγειαν εἶναι τοῦ περὶ τὴν γῆν πυρὸς τὸν ἥλιον becomes ὥς δὲ διὰ βραχέως εἰρησθαι συντεμόντα, πῦρ εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον, which certainly is a lot more compact. Interesting is the change of ἐνξονισμένην (brilliantly conjectured by Reiske) at P 3.13.3 to the mundane ἐν ἄξονι στρεφόμενην at 15.58.3 (cf. Diels *DG* 8, not noted by Mras). In §45 (= P 1.10) no less than 3 verbs/participles are left out. We recall too the omission of the corrupt lemma at §42 noted above. Examples could easily be multiplied. Again it is possible that some of these differences are due to the fact that Eusebius had a different text than we have received in the mss. tradition. But many of the simplifications can be explained as occurring quite naturally when a text is being copied out, the precise wording of which is not authoritative (as in the case of the Bible or a major text). Even in the case of Eusebius, who wishes to be a faithful recorder of the errors of others, the inherent fluidity of the doxographical tradition is a factor to be reckoned with.

(v) Of potentially greater interest is the *extra material* that E contains, for, being close to the archetype, he may retain information that later was lost. But the harvest is meagre. In addition to the extra name-label noted

⁵³ The task of reconstructing the name-labels of this lemma in P (and also A) is very complex. We shall return to the question in vol. II.

above, we note the following. At 15.23.9 (= P 2.20.9) καὶ σπογγοειδῶς is added to κισσηροειδές (also in G). More interesting is the lemma at the very end (61.9, = 4.5.9), where Mras reads οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ διαφράγματι τῶν φρενῶν for the mss. τῶν νεφρῶν, adducing Pl. *Tim.* 70a.⁵⁴

Eusebius' thus makes an interesting double-sided use of P. For the most part he presents a remarkably objective record of the source he has used, except when his own interests impinge and in the case of theological issues he makes subtle, often scarcely discernible changes. By using the *Placita* he can convict the Greek philosophers of irremediable doctrinal conflict. It is an apologetic strategy that is used over and over again in the Christian tradition.⁵⁵ We should note, however, that the method was not the invention of the Judaeo-Christian tradition, but has roots both in earlier philosophy and what we might call 'inter-cultural one-up-manship' during the Hellenistic period. We briefly give two final examples.

(a) In Book XV, when he is finished with his quotes from P Eusebius gives a final clinching argument (§62) on the attitude that one should have towards the ματαιοπονία and πολυπραγμοσύνη of the philosophers. Socrates, the wisest of the Greeks, showed how the φυσικοί not only were aiming at what is unreachable for the human mind, but also were concerned with questions that were of no use for the conduct of one's life. The witness he adduces is Xenophon in the famous chapter of the *Memorabilia* (cf. also Theodoret who copies Eusebius at CAG 4.24ff.). But we find exactly the same move made already by Galen more than a century earlier, who lists a large number of questions posed in the *Placita*, argues that they are useless for ethical virtue and political actions, as well as for the ills of the soul, and then refers to the same text in Xenophon.⁵⁶

(b) Eusebius' reply to the *dissensio philosophorum* of the Greeks is the unified truth of the barbarian philosophy handed down by the Hebrew prophets. But this theme is hardly new. Indeed one can adduce the same strategy used already three centuries earlier, in a passage of Diodorus Siculus, who writes at about the time of

⁵⁴ Mras (1944) 219f. To be added to Mansfeld (1990a) 3096.

⁵⁵ See above n. 39, and below on Theodoret Ch. 5, 276f. Further literature cited at Mansfeld (1990a) 3062 n. 12, to which can now be added Riedweg (1994) 109–15.

⁵⁶ *PHP* 9.7.14–15. On this text and its context see further Vegetti (1986) 235.

Cicero's death (43 BCE). Having occasion in his *Universal History* to describe the Chaldean priests in Assyria (2.29), he notes that the study of ἀστρολογία and other philosophical subjects is handed down as a solid and trustworthy body of knowledge from father to son. The Greek students mostly learn too little too late. The few that do pursue a professional career are chiefly out to make a profit. We quote the contrast made between barbarians and Greeks (2.29.6):⁵⁷

τοιγαροῦν οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι διαμένοντες ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀεὶ βεβαίως ἕκαστα λαμβάνουσιν, οἱ Ἕλληνες τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐργολαβίαν κέρδους στοχαζόμενοι καινὰς αἰρέσεις κτίζουσι, καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων θεωρημάτων ἀλλήλοις ἀντιδοξοῦντες διχονοεῖν ποιοῦσι τοὺς μανθάνοντας καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν πλανᾶσθαι, τὸν πάντα βίον ἐν αἰῶρα γινομένας καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως πιστεῦσαι δυναμένας βεβαίως· τὰς γοῦν ἐπιφανεστάτας αἰρέσεις τῶν φιλοσόφων εἴ τις ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζοι, πλεῖστον ὅσον εὕρησει διαφερούσας ἀλλήλων καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων δοξῶν ἐναντία δοξαζούσας.

(Consequently the barbarians, by adhering to the same viewpoint always, retain a secure hold on every detail, whereas the Greeks, aiming at the profit to be made out of the business, keep on founding new schools of thought, and wrangling with each other over the most important subjects, cause their pupils to hold conflicting views and their souls, vacillating throughout their lives and unable to believe anything at all with firm conviction, simply to wander in confusion. It is at any rate true that if one were to examine carefully the most famous schools of the philosophers, one would find them differing from each other to the utmost degree and holding opposite views on the most fundamental doctrines.)

Diodorus continues (§30-31) with a doxography of Chaldean doctrines quite similar to what one might give for a philosophical school, except that the chief emphasis is on their astronomical and astrological views, and all reference to anthropological and ethical questions is missing.⁵⁸ The emphasis placed by the

⁵⁷ English translation based on Oldfather LCL. On the theme of the superiority of barbarian philosophy see Spoerri (1959), Momigliano (1975) 137-50 (esp. on Persian wisdom). Sterling (1992) 103 speaks of a literary genre of apologetic historiography which challenged and identified with Hellenism at the same time.

⁵⁸ Note 30.1 eternity of cosmos, providence, 30.2 motion of stars and planets, 30.4 predictions of coming events (cf. P. 2.19), 30.7 zodiac and revolutions of sun and moon, 31.5 moon, its light and eclipses, 31.7 earth. There is no reference to the Chaldeans in the *Placita*, though the *doxai* of Berossus on the moon are reported three times in Book II. The name-label οἱ μαθηματικοί may conceal reference to the Chaldeans; cf. Diels *DG* 196 on P. 5.18.6 and the parallel text in Censorinus *De die natali* 8.1. Note also the

historian on the contradicting views of the Greek philosophers (note the term ἀντιδοξοῦντες!),⁵⁹ as compared with the single tradition of the Chaldeans, is *mutatis mutandis* highly reminiscent of Eusebius' apologetic message.⁶⁰

5. *Ps. Galen*

Our next witness to the tradition of P, the ps.Galenic author of the Φιλόσοφος ἱστορία, is a very different case, both as regards his person and the record he has left behind. Like P himself he is an *anonymus* who has found his way into a major corpus,⁶¹ and if we want information about him, we can only extract it from his treatise. We are told that he wants to produce a compendium so that lovers of learning (φιλομαθεῖς) can benefit from the knowledge that he has collected together (§2, cf. 16).⁶² But the product of his labours is unsatisfactory in many respects. Indeed it is surely one of the more incompetent pieces of scholarly work that has been handed down to us from antiquity.

Although it is our intention to leave the researches of Diels at least partly behind us, in the case of ps.Galen this is quite impracticable. It is clear that, despite the author's manifest foibles—or perhaps rather *on account of* them—he had a special place in Diels' heart. Not only did the German scholar devote his doctoral dissertation to him, but also in the *Prolegomena* he occupies a place quite disproportionate to his importance.⁶³ In his dissertation Diels made two important discoveries: firstly, that both the Greek text and the Latin translation in the standard edition of Kühn had

report of the Chaldean *doxa* on comets at S 1.28.1b which Diels did not know what to do with.

⁵⁹ Diodorus' source is unknown. Schwarz (1905) 672 suggested Posidonius, but the anti-Greek stance suggests an ethnic provenance (cf. the previous note). It cannot be Berosus, whose cosmogony is radically different.

⁶⁰ Another example of the same contrast between the dissensions of the Greeks and the unity of the barbarians (this time the Phoenicians) is found in Philo of Byblos at Eus. *PE* 1.9.27–8, who of course speaks *as* a barbarian.

⁶¹ It is no. 117 in Fichtner's (1989) catalogue of Galenic and ps.Galenic works. Dr. J. Kollesch of the CMG has kindly informed us that the projected edition and translation by J. McDairmid was not realized.

⁶² In fact G starts off where E concludes, viz. with Socrates who approves of searching, but neglects φυσιολογία for ethics (§1). This does not deter the author from concentrating on this area of philosophy for most of the work (only §9–15 are on logic, and ethics is not touched on at all).

⁶³ Diels (1870), *DG* 12–7 (on the relation to P), 233–58 (general presentation).

been interpolated and augmented by earlier scholars; secondly, that ps.Galen had used P as his source and not, as had hitherto been supposed, a larger source behind P.⁶⁴ But the final version of the dissertation was too hastily prepared.⁶⁵ Soon after its publication a long review by Wachsmuth appeared which, though generously recognizing the thesis' considerable merits, drew attention to its shortcomings in a rather devastating manner.⁶⁶ Wachsmuth pointed out that Diels' textual evidence was not complete (he had missed at least one further manuscript),⁶⁷ his account of the early printed editions left much to be desired, and he failed to make use of the medieval Latin translation.⁶⁸ Another aspect of the dissertation was attacked by Volkmann, who argued that in the first chapters ps.Galen had not made direct use of Sextus Empiricus, as Diels had asserted, but that both authors utilize an earlier source.⁶⁹

Because of this somewhat erratic performance and the two critiques that it inspired Diels returns to the subject of ps.Galen's treatise at considerable length in *DG* 233–58. These pages in fact amount to a *retractatio*.⁷⁰ Our concern here can only be to investigate what it can tell us about Aëtius and the tradition of the *Placita*.

The work falls into two uneven parts. In the first, §1–24 in Diels' edition,⁷¹ makes very little use of the *Placita*. The author begins

⁶⁴ See above Ch. 1, p. 13f.

⁶⁵ It is in fact only an extract (translated into Latin) of the much larger manuscript submitted for the prize in 1869; see *ibid.*, p. 11, 14, Ch. 2, p. 64. Note that the slender volume of 49 pages has more than a page of *corrigenda* appended to it.

⁶⁶ Wachsmuth (1871b) 698–712. Remarkably the review does not appear to have disturbed the good relations between the two men. Diels journeyed to Göttingen in the summer or autumn of 1871 especially to meet Wachsmuth (cf. Kern (1927) 43). The review had perhaps then not yet appeared. In the Preface to *DG* he twice mentions Wachsmuth and thanks him warmly for his assistance. The reference to the review at *DG* 238 is characteristically brief ('secundum C. Wachsmuthii diligentissimum examen...'), but at least it is there. On Wachsmuth see above, Ch. 1, n. 30.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 700f.

⁶⁸ On this translation by Niccolò da Reggio see above, Ch. 1, p. 23.

⁶⁹ Volkmann (1873) 16–7. Diels concedes the point to Volkmann at *DG* 248, but then obscures the situation by adducing the question of the relation between the list of *doxai* at Sext. Emp. *PH* 3.30 and G §18, a question which he says Volkmann did not discuss, but which certainly gives no support to his previous position. See further above, Ch. 1, p. 60f.

⁷⁰ Cf. *DG* 238, 'accuratius retractare placet'.

⁷¹ I.e. in the *DG*. The 1870 edition was limited to this section. The ordering of the chapters in the mss. and the early editions appears to have

with general chapters on the aim, definition, parts, and practitioners of philosophy (§1-8).⁷² Then follow relatively short chapters on various aspects of logic (§9-15), which are largely parallel to passages in Sextus Empiricus.⁷³ Thereafter the author moves to the domain of τὰ φυσικώτερα, where he will remain for the rest of the book. The first nine chapters, up to §24, are of great interest. Their titles (or contents) are as follows:

§16	περὶ τοῦ φυσικοῦ (καὶ περὶ θεοῦ)
§17	〈περὶ κόσμου〉
§18	〈περὶ ὕλης〉
§19	〈περὶ διαφορᾶς ἀρχῆς καὶ αἰτίας〉
§20	περὶ φύσεως (= P 1.1, 1.30)
§21	〈περὶ διαφορᾶς στοιχείων καὶ ἀρχῆς〉 (= P 1.2)
§22	περὶ κινήσεως
§23	περὶ σωμάτων
§24	περὶ ψυχῆς

If we ignore the two chapters on terminology (§19, 21), what we have amounts to a highly compressed account of the basic scheme of the *Placita*, in which only the most important subjects are included, i.e. nature, God, cosmos, matter, motion, bodies, soul. Particularly prominent in the chapters on God, cosmos, bodies and soul is the use of pairs of *doxai* opposed to each other. For example in the case of God we have the following (§16):

(i) on God's οὐσία

Plato: God is incorporeal *versus* Zeno the Stoic: God is body

(ii) on God's shape

Stoa: nothing about God's form *versus* Epicurus: God is anthropomorphic

(iii) on God's place

Epicurus: God is limited to a place *versus* Stoa: God immanent in all things

been disturbed. In his dissertation Diels rightly decided to minimize the changes in his own edition, shifting only the clearly displaced §XXVIII and §XXVII between §X and XI. In *DG* he abandons the mixture of Roman and Arabic chapter numbers and retains only Arabic numbers. The 'ordo genuinus qualem mihi finxi' in the table at (1870) 21 seems very erratic, and it was just as well that Diels did not introduce it into his editions. Also unsatisfactory is the treatment of the 'Fremdkörper' introducing logic which Diels leaves at the end of §4. It is better shifted to a place between §8 and 9.

⁷² Compare the treatment of the themes of the definition and parts of philosophy at much greater length in the *Prolegomena philosophiae* of the commentators Ammonius, Elias and David, *CAG* 4.3.1–22, 18.1.1–34, 18.3.1–79, and the analysis of Westerink (1962) xxviii ff., (1990) xlii ff.

⁷³ See above at n. 69.

(iv) on God's providential care

Stoa: God is providential *versus* Epicurus: God does not concern himself

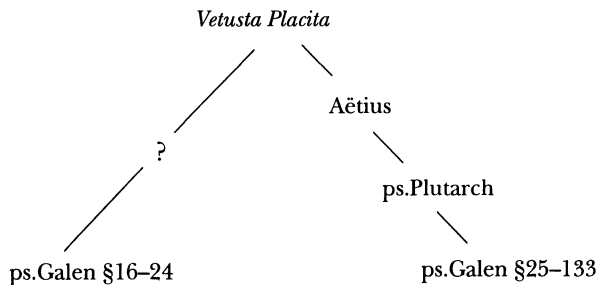
(v) on God's goodness

Plato: God good to all men.

The basic antithetic and diaphonic structure is much more apparent in a passage in Sextus Empiricus, *PH* 3.30:⁷⁴

ἐπεὶ οὖν τῶν δογματικῶν οἱ μὲν σῶμά φασι εἶναι τὸν θεὸν οἱ δὲ ἄσώματον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀνθρωποειδῆ οἱ δὲ οὐ, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τόπῳ οἱ δὲ οὐ, καὶ τῶν ἐν τόπῳ οἱ μὲν ἐντὸς κόσμου οἱ δὲ ἐκτός, πῶς δυνησόμεθα ἔννοιαν θεοῦ λαμβάνειν μῆτε οὐσίαν ἔχοντες αὐτοῦ ὁμολογουμένην μῆτε εἶδος μῆτε τόπον ἐν ᾧ εἴη;

The diaphonic method is in marked contrast to the very long chapter on theology in A, in which the *doxai* are arranged in a long list of philosophers. The chapter on the cosmos also makes use of διαφωνία and shows similarities to A at P 2.4. But for the list of views on the material cause we have an arithmetically arranged diaeresis (ascending from one to six 'elements'), for which a number of close parallels exist.⁷⁵ Finally the chapter on the soul emphasizes the ἀντίρρησις of previous philosophers and presents a rich séquence of disagreements. Anticipating further analysis later in our study, we can say that at least some of the material contained in this (and other) chapters goes back to the VP which was Aëtius' source.⁷⁶ This can be illustrated as follows:



⁷⁴ Cf. Diels *DG* 248, where the diaphonic structure is not stressed. On these and similar theological diaereses see the forthcoming article on Aëtius 1.7, Runia (1997).

⁷⁵ Cf. Sext. Emp. *PH* 3.30-2, *Adv. Math.* 9.359-64, and the remarks of Mansfeld (1990a) 3157ff. On the ἀρχαί there is the spectacular doxography at *Simpl. in Phys.* 1.2, 22-7, on which see further Mansfeld (1989b) 138ff.

⁷⁶ Cf. already Mansfeld (1990a) 3069, 3164.

The two sets of doxographical material in G can therefore be described as roughly cousins twice removed.

The second part of the work begins, without any special introduction, at §25. From there until the end, i.e. §25-133, the author relies exclusively on P, following the sequence of his source except in the case of a few chapters in Book I.⁷⁷ His usage in this section can thus be summarized as followed;

Book I	19 (of 30) chapters excerpted	15 with all lemmata referred to
Book II	all 32 chapters excerpted	15 with all lemmata referred to
Book III	15 (of 18) chapters excerpted	6 with all lemmata referred to
Book IV	16 (of 23) chapters excerpted	9 with all lemmata referred to
Book V	28 (of 30) chapters excerpted	17 with all lemmata referred to.

If we add the three chapters used in §16-24, G thus makes use of 113 of P's 133 chapters,⁷⁸ and in more than half of these (62) all P's lemmata are referred to, either in full or (more often) in an abridged form. In the remaining 51 chapters a selection of lemmata found in P is given.⁷⁹

In contrast to Eusebius, therefore, G basically follows the method of an epitomator in the greater part of his book. Chapters 25-133 in fact amount to an *epitome of an epitome*.⁸⁰ While P, as we shall see, has reduced the original body of *placita* in A by about half, G now reduces the body by about the same amount again. In so doing, however, he uses a method that differs from that of his

⁷⁷ Sequence §10, 13, 15, 14, 17, 18, 20, 5, 4, 6, 7, 8, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29. The two reversals of §5-4 and §15-14 are doubtless attempts at improvement on the part of the author (number of cosmoi comes before genesis, colour of body in the category of quality before shape in the category of quantity).

⁷⁸ The chapters that are used correspond exactly except on three occasions. Twice chapter titles are left out, so that it appears that G has coalesced chapters in P (cf. the method of S). Diels numbers these 56a, 67a, but restores the titles, which amounts to an unsatisfactory compromise. On the other hand the last chapter in P is split up into two separate chapters on disease and old age respectively. It is perhaps not impossible that this reflects an early stage in P's textual transmission. The final pages of books are always vulnerable; see below text to n. 91. But we have no means of checking, for this chapter is not used by E. Moreover it is not confirmed by Q, who, as we shall see below, has additional material, but keeps the chapter together.

⁷⁹ As a result of this usage certain conflicts occur with the subjects treated in the first part, i.e. in §16-24. G makes some allowance for this by deleting P 1.3 (principles), 1.9 (matter), 1.12 (bodies), and, more remarkably, the entire sequence 4.2-8 on the soul. But the doublets that ensue through use of 1.7 (god), 1.10 (ideas, cf. G §17 *ad fin.*), 2.4. (cosmos' indestructibility) are allowed to remain.

⁸⁰ The same may well apply, of course, to §16-24, but we do not have the original.

predecessor and source. Whereas, as will emerge in our later analysis, P generally either transcribes or deletes lemmata in the original, G shows a marked tendency to *paraphrase* and/or *abbreviate*, though sometimes also adding little adnotatory expansions as the mood happens to take him. We give two examples, taken virtually at random.

i. In a brief chapter on mixture in Book I G both paraphrases and abridges:

ps.Plutarch 1.17, 72.8-15 Mau

ιζ' Περί μίξεως καὶ κράσεως
οἱ μὲν ἀρχαῖοι τὰς τῶν στοιχείων
μίξεις κατ' ἀλλοίωσιν.

οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀναξαγόραν καὶ Δημόκριτον
κατὰ παράθεσιν.

Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δ' ἐκ μικροτέρων ὄγκων
τὰ στοιχεῖα συγκρίνει, ἅπερ ἐστὶν
ἐλάχιστα καὶ οἰονεῖ στοιχεῖα
στοιχείων.

Πλάτων τὰ μὲν τρία σώματα (οὐ γὰρ
θέλει κυρίως αὐτὰ εἶναι στοιχεῖα ἢ
προσονομάζειν) τρεπτὰ εἰς ἄλληλα,
πῦρ ἀέρα ὕδωρ, τὴν δὲ γῆν εἰς τι
τούτων ἀμετάβλητον.

ps.Galen §29, 616.9-15 Diels

ιζ' Περί μίξεως
οἱ μὲν παλαιότεροι τὰς τῶν στοι-
χείων⁸¹ κατ' ἀλλοίωσιν ἤτοι
κρᾶσιν ᾤθησαν γίνεσθαι,
οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀναξαγόραν καὶ
Δημόκριτον κατὰ παράθεσιν.
Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ ἐκ μικροτέρων
οἶεται τὰ στοιχεῖα συγκρίνειν.

Πλάτων δὲ τὰ μὲν τρία εἶναι εἰς
ἄλληλα, τὴν δὲ γῆν ἀμετά-
βλητον μόνην.

We note how G takes the term κρᾶσις from the title, where he omits it, and adds it to the first lemma. This is an example of his speciality, the *Verschlimmbesserung*, to which we shall return directly. Noteworthy is his addition of verbs of thinking, maintaining etc. in order improve the style of the doxography. On the whole, however, his modifications tend to obscure the meaning, as is clearly the case in the Plato lemma.

ii. In the chapter on the τρόποι of the sun G expands the notice in P:

ps.Plutarch 2.24, 93.8-10 Mau

οἱ Στωικοὶ κατὰ τὸ διάστημα
τῆς ὑποκειμένης τροφῆς
διέρχεσθαι τὸν ἥλιον· ὥκεανὸς
δ' ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ, ἥς τὴν
ἀναθυμίασιν ἐπινέμεται.

ps.Galen §65, 627.1-3 Diels

οἱ Στωικοὶ κατὰ τὸ διάστημα τῆς
ὑποκειμένης τροφῆς διέναι τὸν ἥλιον·
ὥκεανὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν
παρέχειν τῷ ἡλίῳ τροφήν τὴν αὐτοῦ
ὕγρότητα ἔχουσαν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν
γέωδὴ ἀναθυμίασιν.

Not only is, rather superfluously, the verb διέρχεσθαι replaced by διέναι, but the second part of the lemma is expanded, presumably because the author thought he should make explicit that *both* the moist and the dry exhalation were involved. But in the process the train of thought becomes garbled (is the final phrase also object of the verb

⁸¹ Diels' emendation (μίξεις) is not necessary, since the term can be supplied from the chapter title, i.e. G abridges.

παρέχειν, and if so, how can the ocean and the sea furnish a earthy, i.e. dry, exhalation?). The result is less clear than the original. We shall return to this chapter in our detailed analysis in vol. II.

Furthermore it is difficult to detect any kind of rationale in the selection of lemmata that G does present. P, as we shall see, has some idea of the method of the *Placita*, and reduces his original accordingly. G, although almost always retaining the order of the lemmata he preserves,⁸² appears to select them fairly much at random. And when name-labels are deleted so that lemmata become coalesced together the result is often completely incomprehensible. Once again we give an example.

At 4.13 P preserves a schematic but lucid contrast which clearly preserves the diaphonic method of the *Placita* (comparison with S shows that P has preserved some of the systematics of A here).

εἰ ἀληθεῖς αἱ αἰσθήσεις καὶ φαντασίαι
οἱ Στωικοὶ τὰς μὲν αἰσθήσεις ἀληθεῖς, τῶν δὲ φαντασιῶν τὰς μὲν ἀληθεῖς
τὰς δὲ ψευδεῖς.
Ἐπίκουρος πᾶσαν αἴσθησιν καὶ πᾶσαν φαντασίαν ἀληθῆ, τῶν δὲ δοξῶν
τὰς μὲν ἀληθεῖς τὰς δὲ ψευδεῖς· καὶ ἡ μὲν αἴσθησις μοναχῶς ψευδο-
ποιεῖται [τὰ] κατὰ τὰ νοητά, ἡ δὲ φαντασία διχῶς· καὶ γὰρ αἰσθητῶν ἔστι
φαντασία καὶ νοητῶν.

G, in contrast records the following in §91:

εἰ ἀληθὴς ἡ αἴσθησις καὶ ἡ φαντασία
οἱ Στωικοὶ τὰς μὲν αἰσθήσεις ἀληθεῖς, τῶν δὲ φαντασιῶν τὰς μὲν ἀληθεῖς
τὰς δὲ ψευδεῖς· καὶ αἱ μὲν αἰσθήσεις μοναχῶς ψευδοποιοῦνται καὶ τὰ
νοήματα διττῶς· καὶ γὰρ αἰσθητῶν ἔστι φαντασία καὶ νοητῶν.

Because he drops the first part of the Epicurean lemma, including the name-label, the result is complete balderdash. One is inclined to suspect textual corruption, but such charity may well be unjustified.

It is in fact apparent that much has gone wrong in the record of the *Placita* that G presents us with. In the first place the preserved text of the work is so poor that it is often very difficult to reconstruct what he actually wrote.⁸³ Worse, however, are the interventions of the writer himself. These are no doubt the result of a desire to introduce some *variatio* amidst the rather slavish use of a source. Without exaggeration, however, it has be concluded that most

⁸² Exception at §122 (cf. P 5.18), where G records 5 of P's 6 lemmata in the order 4 5 6 3 2. The first lemma of P 1.26 (= G 41) occurs in last position in P 1.25 (= G 40), a change which Diels rightly introduces into his text of P.

⁸³ As Diels notes at *DG* 12: even though the Plutarchean exemplar is available, one can sometimes not determine what the author's intentions were.

attempts at variation or even improvement are nothing else than *Verschlimmbesserungen*, and that the unknown author raises this practice to the level of a perverse kind of art.⁸⁴ Because he is compiling his work for tyros in the domain of philosophy, he feels obliged to modify and simplify the text, but in the process, through sheer incompetence, the result is frequently worse than the original. Once again some examples will clarify (and perhaps amuse).⁸⁵

(i) In §44, drawing on P 2.1, G is suspicious of the statement that Metrodorus was the teacher of Epicurus, and so changes to Δημόκριτος καὶ Ἐπίκουρος καὶ ὁ τοῦτου καθηγητὴς Λεύκιππος.

(ii) Two chapters later, on the question of Providence, instead of the atomists introducing τὰ ἄτομα, G has them introducing τὸ αὐτόματον.

(iii) In §76 *ad fin.* (cf. P 3.3), instead of the hurricane and the cyclone picking up warm and dense matter respectively, G gives *them* these characteristics.

(iv) In §81 (cf. 3.9), finding it hard to imagine how Metrodorus could envisage the sun as the 'lees of air', he changes to τρύγα ... τοῦ πυρός, and then changes the earth to the 'lees of air', instead of 'lees of water'. The intention is to 'normalize' the text.

(v) In P 5.4, on whether sperm is body, P gives a view wherein Pythagoras-Plato-Aristotle distinguish between its δύναμις which is ἀσώματος and its ὕλη which is σωματική. He then adds: Στράτων καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν σῶμα· πνευματική γάρ. G renders in §108: Στράτων καὶ Δημόκριτος κατὰ δύναμιν σωματική. Diels *ad loc.* records Reiske's support for καὶ κατὰ, but the contrast with the previous lemma precludes this. σωματική too is a poor substitute for σῶμα· πνευματική γάρ.

(vi) At P 5.20 Plato-Pythagoras are said to affirm that the so-called irrational animals do not have souls that are λογικῶς ἐνεργεῖν because they do not possess τὸ φραστικόν, as in the case of monkeys and dogs: λαλοῦσι μὲν γὰρ οὗτοι οὐ φράζουσι δέ. G at §124 modifies: νοοῦσι μὲν, οὐ δύνανται δὲ φράζειν ἢ νοοῦσιν. The reading in G this time does make good sense, but preference should be given to P on account of the emphasis on articulation (i.e. Diels was wrong to import the reading of G into his text; Mau rightly retains λαλοῦσι).

Our task, however, is not to be censorious, but rather to determine what our author can tell us about P, and ultimately about A. This can be summarized under four headings.

(1) *Name-labels.* In 34 chapters there are differences between G and P in the use of name-labels (not including cases where G

⁸⁴ Cf. DG 13, where Diels aptly cites the verdict of Jerome on scribes of his day. But he errs in attributing G's habit of paraphrasing to a conscious desire to cover up the theft of another's material. What he is doing is, in the ancient perspective, quite legitimate.

⁸⁵ Others at DG 13.

possesses additional lemmata).⁸⁶ On various occasions he abbreviates, e.g. at §44 where *Θαλῆς καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* becomes simply *Θαλῆς*. When one observes that A, as preserved by S, contained a whole gallery of names, one can see how the doxographical tradition becomes attenuated through the process of epitomization.⁸⁷ Sometimes his text was defective, and he had to guess, e.g. in §26, where the words *Ἐμπεδοκλῆς πρό* were missing, and he substitutes *τινες*.⁸⁸ On 8 occasions name-labels disappear because lemmata are coalesced, either because the text is defective or through inadvertence.⁸⁹ Other mistakes occur also, such as when Anaximander is substituted for Anaxagoras in §100, Epicurus for the Empirici in §122.⁹⁰ Only on a handful of occasions does G furnish us with potentially valuable information.

§25, §35. In both chapters P records Socrates-Plato, but G only Plato (cf. 1.3.10, 1.7.6, 1.10.2, of which the first is not found in G). G's deletion is supported by S. We shall return to this crux in our discussions of Q and the text of P.

§113 (cf. P 5.9). The addition of Asclepiades to Empedocles is odd. Diels' explanation *ad loc.* is not convincing. The *doxa* with its cosmogonic perspective is not of the kind to be attributed to a Hellenistic doctor, so the mistake is most likely G's.

§124 (cf. P 5.20). Here G's labels agree with S (*Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης*) and also Q, contrary to P's circumlocution (*ἔστι πραγματεία Ἀριστοτέλους, ἐν ᾗ...*). Which is the reading to be given to P, the one of the mss. (Mau) or of members of P's tradition (Diels)? We agree with Diels *DG* 15 (who plausibly suspects that *πραγματεία* may have resulted from an illegible *Πλάτων καὶ*) against the too conservative Mau.

§130. Here too G (Plato-Empedocles) agrees with S (though not with Q) against P (Plato-Thales), and Mau may again be too conservative.

§133. G records *οἱ Στωικοὶ καὶ οἱ ἰατροί*, whereas P has *οἱ Στωικοὶ συμφώνως*.

It is important to note that the extra information is located mainly towards the end of the work.⁹¹

⁸⁶ In §21, 25–26, 29–31, 35–36, 38, 44, 47, 49–50, 55, 69, 74, 82, 84–85, 88, 91, 94, 96–97, 100, 111, 115, 119, 122–124, 130, 132–133.

⁸⁷ Other instances of abridgement in §30, 55, 69, 84, 97.

⁸⁸ Cf. also §49 *Ἐμπεδοκλῆς* becomes *Διοκλῆς*, and perhaps §132 (*Ἐρασίου στρατός* becomes *Στράτων*). These errors could also be scribal.

⁸⁹ See §50, 74, 82, 91, 94, 96, 115, 119 (twice), 130.

⁹⁰ Are these mistakes caused by abbreviations of names in the exemplar being copied? Note also §88 where G manages to get every single name-label at least partially wrong.

⁹¹ See above n. 78. But note also that Galen remarks that extra material is often added at the end of works, i.e. is inauthentic; cf. *In De dieta acutorum* CMG 5.9.1, 271–272 and the comments of Mansfeld (1994b) 137f.

(2) *Extra lemmata*. On at least six occasions G contains lemmata not found in P.

§62 (cf. P 2.20). The final Heraclitean lemma on the οὐσία of the sun looks authentic, but is difficult to place in the structure of the chapter. See further our analysis below in vol. II.

§68 (cf. P 2.27). The further information on the phases of the moon could have been drawn from another source. But similar material is found in S. We return to this question in our analysis below in vol. II.

§74 (cf. P 3.1). The second last lemma attributed to the Stoics is not found in P or S, which are otherwise almost identical. Diels *DG* 15 suggests it is conflated from the lemmata before and after it. But the procedure of contrasting the Stoics in general with one of their school, i.e. here Posidonius, does occur elsewhere in A, e.g. at P 2.9, 14.

§123 (cf. P 5.19). The extra lemma attributed to Democritus is also found in Q, so must have derived from P.

§127 (cf. P 5.23). Here we have two extra lemmata. These fill out the diaeresis nicely, i.e. first and third hebdomad added to second, and are doubtlessly genuine.

§131 (cf. P 5.29). The extra lemma is also found in Q. G gets the label wrong (Herodotus instead of Herophilus).

Extra material is also found in §96 (cf. P 4.15), but it gives a further explanation of the Stoic position rather than an entirely new *doxa*.

Finally one might wonder whether the first lemma on φύσις in §20 might come from P. But G could have easily derived it from elsewhere.

We conclude again that the most convincing material comes from the end of the work.

(3) *Titles*. There is a noticeable difference in the titles between G and his original P as it has come down to us. G consistently shortens the titles whenever he can, amounting to about half the time. Sometimes this practice leads to obscurity, such as at §54, where it is not clear that the subject concerns the heaven's οὐσία, or §57 where περὶ τάξεως fails to indicate which order is involved.⁹² There are no instances where G's titles are longer.⁹³ On occasion there are interesting variant long titles, e.g. §71 Διὰ τί γεώδης φαίνεται ἡ σελήνη (cf. P Περὶ ἐμφάσεως αὐτῆς, διὰ τί γεώδης φαίνεται) and §87 Περὶ θαλάττης διὰ τί ἄλμυρά ἐστιν (cf. P Περὶ θαλάσσης, πῶς συνέστη καὶ πῶς ἐστι πικρά). Here too we may suspect the desire for *variatio*.

(4) *The text*. Diels was convinced, that despite the desperate condition of G's text, it was nevertheless a treasure-trove of good readings (*DG* 13-16), and he introduces numerous readings from

⁹² Other examples of obscurely short titles at §46, 61, 62, 67, 81, 104, 116.

⁹³ Unless one includes §50 and 106 where articles have been added.

G into his text of P. It is clear that on quite a few occasions G preserves authentic readings that have become corrupted in P. Indeed whenever G is supported by S against P, then it is generally mandatory to accept him as a witness, not only ultimately for A, but also for P, since there is no evidence to suggest G had direct access to either S or A (though §16–24 are clearly related to the *sources* of A). Nevertheless we are of the opinion that, precisely on account of his tendency gratuitously to alter and ‘improve’ his source, G’s evidence should be used with more caution than shown by Diels. The latter, working in the tradition of 19th century scholarship, is keen to show his sharpness of mind by introducing ameliorating emendations into his text. This tends to make him overly inclined to be favourable to G when the latter’s attempts to improve by paraphrase have an acceptable or even felicitous result (e.g. in the case of the ratiocinative monkeys in §124 discussed above). The importance of these textual variants remains restricted to the understanding of the text at the micro-level.

It is time to draw some conclusions. The evidence that we have accumulated has revealed that the original exemplar of P utilized and appropriated by G cannot be wholly reduced to the tradition represented by our Byzantine mss. His text contains some extra material, especially towards the end, where the supplementary evidence he furnishes is very welcome. A possible reason for this is that his exemplar at the end (where especially codices are always rather vulnerable) was less damaged than the one which formed the archetype for P.⁹⁴ It would therefore be most desirable if we could find out a little more about the author (that he is pseudonymous is *hors de question*) and the time in which he was active. But, as in the case of both A and P, the author recedes entirely behind the impersonal facade offered by the doxographical tradition. Diels made a valiant attempt to date the work, but could not come up with more than some vague indications, such as the polemic against sophistry and the absence of any specifically Christian notions.⁹⁵ The *t.p.q.* can only be the date of P himself, since it cannot be considered certain that G has drawn on Sextus Empiricus. Diels opts for the 5th century, which he says agrees with the conclusions he drew on the condition of the text of

⁹⁴ See above nn. 78 and 91.

⁹⁵ *DG* 253–8.

P at G's disposal. We regard this date as possibly somewhat on the late side, but have no conclusive arguments to support an earlier date.⁹⁶ The fact that only earlier philosophers are mentioned—none later than Posidonius—tells us little, since such antiquarianism is part and parcel of the doxographic tradition (though there are exceptions, e.g. in Nemesius and Calcidius). The paedeutical tone presupposes a scholastic context, but we get no inkling of partiality towards any particular school (just as in P). Access is still available to relatively old material on the history of Greek philosophy (i.e. in the first part). These considerations make a date in the third or fourth century more attractive.⁹⁷ Fortunately a precise date is not of great importance for the pursuit of our analysis.

6. *Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā*

The report found in the encyclopedia (or book-list) *al-Fihrist* of the Baghdad bookseller Ibn an-Nadīm that Plutarch's *Placita Philosophorum* were translated into Arabic by a certain Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā was known to Diels, but according to the information at his disposal the translation was no longer extant. It was not until 1945 that a manuscript of this translation became available. The text has been edited, translated into German and furnished with a commentary by Hans Daiber in a remarkable work of scholarship which makes this version for the first time fully accessible to students of the doxographical tradition.⁹⁸

Since the report in the *Fihrist* on the authorship of the translation is not confirmed by an explicit attestation in the mss., its accuracy must be tested. Daiber, having sifted through the evidence, concludes that there are no grounds for rejection. A number of linguistic and semantic peculiarities suggest that the translator was a Christian who also possessed a knowledge of

⁹⁶ One striking stylistic characteristic of G we have noted is a tendency to simplify verbs and nouns with prepositional prefixes, e.g. §83 ὥρισε, §95 κατὰ ἀντιστροφὴν etc. Whittaker-Louis (1990) xxi note this as a tendency in Alcinous and other imperial authors when dealing with the Platonic texts they are paraphrasing. This perhaps suggests a date closer to the 2nd century.

⁹⁷ Honesty bids us say, however, that all these arguments could be used in the case of S, who is to be dated to the 5th century; see below Ch. 4, p. 196ff.

⁹⁸ Daiber (1980), an expanded version of his Saarbrücken doctoral thesis. The two lengthy reviews by Gutas (1982) and Kunitzsch (1982) acclaim the work as a methodological breakthrough in the area of Greco-Arabic studies. Kunitzsch 337 argues that the author's name should be spelt Qusṭā. Since this has been confirmed for us by D. Gutas, we take it over in our study.

Syriac. Both characteristics apply to Qusṭā, whose name, rendered in Latin Constans Lucae filius, is clearly of Christian origin.⁹⁹ According to our sources he was a Syrian Christian from Baalbek in Syria, who had mastered the Greek and Arabic languages, and whose skill in speaking and translating into Arabic was especially praised. After making a journey to Asia Minor, he settled in Baghdad, where he made Arabic translations of the many Greek works which he had acquired during his stay in the Byzantine Empire. Late in his life he moved to Armenia, where he died in about 912. Evidence in other Arabic philosophical literature confirms a 9th century date for the translation. Extensive citations of and excerpts from the translation are found from the 10th century onwards.¹⁰⁰ Doxographical material in the broader sense of the term was very popular in the Islamic world from the 9th to the 12th century. It demonstrates the pluralism of science in Greek-Hellenistic tradition. Arab philosophers and historiographers follow the Church fathers in setting up diaphonic oppositions and drawing sceptical conclusions on behalf of the revealed truth.¹⁰¹

Daiber's edition is an astonishingly thorough and learned work of scholarship. From the philological angle it has the great merit of providing a literal translation into German of the original text.¹⁰² This allows a detailed comparison with the original Greek,

⁹⁹ See discussion in Daiber (1980) 4–15; biographical details on 4 and n. 46. Recently Daiber (1990a) has published another, much shorter text by Qusṭā on the division of the sciences; cf. the subjects dealt with by G at the beginning of his text and see further n. 72.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Daiber (1980) 5, 80–8 (with diagram of reception). The further reception of P via Q in the Arabic tradition falls outside the scope of our study. One exceptional text, however, should be noted. Daiber (1980) 398–400 notes a doxography parallel to Q 2.20–22, but deviating at various points. He argues now, (1994) 4975–76, that it derives from a work by the Christian Gabriel Ibn Nūh, and represents a Arabic version of P independent of Q, with possibly a Persian intermediate translation standing between it and P.

¹⁰¹ See the valuable survey of doxography in the Islamic world in Daiber (1994), different version published earlier in (1990b); also briefer remarks at Gutas (1994) 4954f. Q's *Placita* are to be distinguished from a slightly different genre of what Daiber calls 'Schein-doxographien', in which Neoplatonizing doctrines are placed in the mouth of Presocratic and other philosophers. A fine example is the Doxography of ps.Ammonius, recently edited and translated in exemplary fashion by Rudolph (1989), who demonstrates extensive dependence on Hippolytus *Ref.* book I.

¹⁰² Though Gutas asserts in his review (117 f.) that 'it follows the Greek rather than the Arabic in a number of places where this procedure seems to be unwarranted, and it renders certain key Arabic terms with a semantic fluidity which they may not have possessed, as contemporary Arab readers

which is given with admirable precision under the heading *Apparat* in the commentary. It is sometimes, however, not easy to see the wood for the trees. Daiber claims that the original text behind the translation cannot be reduced to any other witnesses in P's tradition¹⁰³ and that it furnishes valuable new textual material, but the reader is nowhere given an overview of the evidence. It is necessary to work one's way right through the entire body of the text and the commentary. More importantly Daiber's presentation of the doxographical background of the Aëtius tradition is inexact at vital points. The title of his work should already give pause for thought. Why *Aëtius* Arabus? Q is giving a translation of ps.Plutarch, and Aëtius is nowhere in sight. The sub-title is also unclear, since Q offers much more than reports on Presocratic philosophers.¹⁰⁴ The descriptions and the stemma given of the Aëtius-tradition are factually inaccurate.¹⁰⁵

On account of these and other problems (until recently communication between classicists and arabists has never been swift) the evidence of Q has as yet not been integrated in research on the doxographical tradition.¹⁰⁶ Mau refers to Daiber's dissertation in his edition of P, but does not make use of it.¹⁰⁷ Conversely Daiber in his revised edition relies wholly on Diels and does not appear to have been aware of a new edition of his translator's source. This entails that he also makes use of Diels' numbering, even though it is designed to indicate the reconstruction of A, not the contents of P. Lachenaud devotes four useful pages to the 'tradition arabe' and gives a valuable list of interesting readings. But this material has been integrated into the apparatus criticus of his Greek text only to a limited degree.¹⁰⁸ Recently it has even been—absurdly—suggested that parts of Q are based on Stobaeus, i.e. do not go back to P at all.¹⁰⁹

understood them'. Kunitzsch in his review (338–40) criticizes some renderings of astronomical material in Books II and III.

¹⁰³ To which we shall return below, p. 161ff.

¹⁰⁴ Both points are well made by Gutas (1982) 114.

¹⁰⁵ On pp. 1 and 325. We return to this presentation at the end of this section.

¹⁰⁶ Mansfeld occasionally incorporates readings in his Reclam edition of the Presocratics, (1983–86).

¹⁰⁷ Mau (1971) viii.

¹⁰⁸ See discussion of his text below at p. 179ff.

¹⁰⁹ Kingsley (1994) 246. Since aspersions are made against both Daiber and others, the passage should be quoted in full: 'It is a sad reflection both of

Pace Kingsley, Q is a translation of P, and it is of the first importance to realize that that is exactly what it is. This makes Q different to our other witnesses. The translator is not trying to adapt his source to his own purpose, but simply to make it accessible to a public who did not have a command of the original language. At the same time, however, he has difficulties that witnesses such as E and G did not have to confront. He has to convey difficult Greek concepts and terminology into a foreign language. Daiber has made a lengthy study of Q's translating technique.¹¹⁰ He rightly argues that such a study is a prerequisite before one can determine the text's relation to its original source. On the basis of his examination it may be concluded that Q does not confine himself to a literal translation, but is prepared to take certain liberties with the text in order to make his meaning plainer. This leads to paraphrases, additions, explanations, simplifications, omissions. In many cases it is clearly going to be very difficult to determine whether these are deliberate, accidental, or caused by a different original text. Certain puzzling renditions can be explained through the intervention of late Greek and Byzantine lexicography, and through the use of Greek-Syriac dictionaries. But there are also many cases in which Daiber can show that the translator has misread the original. A trivial but typical example is found at P 1.3 58.14 Mau, where the Greek reads *κρικοειδής* ('ring-shaped'), but Q reads 'in der Form des Haares', i.e. *τριχοειδής*. It is possible that Q's text possessed this reading, but more likely that he misread the Greek word and substituted a term that is attested in Aristotle (*HA* 620b14). Through his detailed investigation of the kind of mistakes that the translator makes, Daiber is confident that he can reconstruct with

the continuing influence of Diels, and of the pervasive tendency to play down the value of those sources of ours which survive in Arabic, that the recent editor of this Arabic version of Aëtius failed to see it as a faithful translation of Stobaeus and wrongly assumed the translator just made a mistake.' In a note (45) he adds: 'Daiber evidently only had the text of ps.Plutarch in front of him. To claim (as does D. T. Runia, *Phronesis* 34, 1989, 248–9) that the Arabic Aëtius is dependent on ps.Plutarch is an inauspicious start to a proposed re-assessment of the so-called doxographic tradition.' How could Daiber only have P in front of him when his whole book is based on Diels' edition with its two columns? These unfortunate and totally insubstantial remarks have been refuted by Mansfeld in a critical note, (1995).

¹¹⁰ Daiber (1980) 16–74, singled out for special praise by both reviewers cited above in n. 98.

a fair degree of accuracy what his original text must have looked like.

Once again our task is not to dwell on the idiosyncracies of Q, but rather to extract from him what is useful for our understanding of P and the tradition in which he stands. We turn now to the same categories that we have used for the two previous witnesses.¹¹¹ The relevant material will be presented more fully than is perhaps necessary, in order to spare the reader the task of working his or her way through the vast mass of Daiber's commentary.¹¹²

(1) *Name-labels*. Q gives the following information on the name-labels found in his source (not including the cases where he preserves additional lemmata):

P 1.3.10, 1.7.6, 1.10.2. Q agrees with P E against G in recording the name of Socrates together with Plato (remarkably Diels *ad* 1.7.6 is able to record the reading of Q in form of a citation from al-Shahrastānī).

P 2.9.4. Q reads Plato Aristotle with E against P G.

P 2.13.8. Heraclitus instead of Heraclides, against E P G, i.e. no doubt Q's mistake. The same happens at 2.25.6, but here Q agrees with the entire tradition of P.

P 2.20.5. The philosopher Mydron (should be Metrodorus) is of course the result of the misreading of the Greek text (nowhere mentioned in apparatus or commentary by Daiber).

P 2.21.3. Epicurus added before Heraclitus, possibly an addition by the translator.

P 2.29.1. Here Q has the right name, Anaximander, together with E G and one ms. of P, while two mss. of P have Anaximenes (an easy mistake).

P 3.13. Two mistakes: οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι becomes 'alle Philosophen', Ecphantus becomes Eukrates.

P 4.8.2. 'Die Anhänger des Epikuros' instead of Epicurus (= οἱ περὶ Ἐπίκουρον or οἱ Ἐπικούρειοι?).

P 4.14.2. Democritus deleted.

P 5.1.4. 'Demarchus?' instead of Dicaearchus, i.e. the uncommon name not recognized. The same at 5.6.1, 'Hipparchus?' instead of Hippon.

P 5.18. At §3 Q reads οἱ Ἐμπειρικοί as describing Polybus and Diocles. In the next lemma he renders 'Aristoteles, seine Anhänger und

¹¹¹ As noted above, we have had to extract this material from Daiber's wide-ranging commentary. He himself makes almost no comments on it. For example, in the case of the extra lemma in P 1.21 a long and learned discussion is given on the Aristotelian definition of time in the Arabic world (365–7), but the reader does not receive an answer to the obvious question of whether the lemma is authentically Plutarchean, or added by Q himself.

¹¹² The reader should note that we follow the numbering of the lemmata in P, *not* in Diels (= A), as Daiber does.

Hippokrates'. Daiber reconstructs 'Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτόν, but perhaps οἱ περὶ Ἀριστοτέλῃ, as in S.

P 5.20.1. Here Q significantly reads Plato and Aristotle (see further p. 178 below on Mau's edition). At 5.26.1, however, he reads Plato Empedocles, with P against G S and Diels.

P 5.30.1. Q prefixes the second part of the lemma—from καὶ νόσων αἰτία onwards (λέγει δὲ τὰς νόσους in S)—with the name-label Herophilus, going against P S and also Psellus. Daiber suggests *ad loc.* that a *Randnotiz* has crept into the text and suggests no drastic conclusions should be drawn. This is surely somewhat precipitate, since the text gives a double account of both disease and health. The texts in Diels and Mau are a mess. If we accept the text in P, as given by Mau, then this would weigh against Q, since Herophilus is known to have rejected the notion of causes. But at T59a Von Staden (= Galen *De causis procatarticiis* 16.197–205, CMG Suppl. 2.53–55 Bardong) and T59b (= *De comp. medic. sec. locos* 12.619 K.) he does admit provisional causes, and the examples given in the former text amount to the first two causes in P (*causa vero, utrum sit vel non, natura quidem non est invenibile, existimatione autem puto infrigidari, estuari, cibo et potibus repleri*). Von Staden (1989) fails to mention the attribution in Q.

(2) Extra lemmata. Q's text is remarkably complete. Not only does it contain all the chapters found in P (the text but not the titles of 2.23 and 27 are missing), but it also furnishes a number of lemmata not found in P's mss. tradition.

P 1.21. Between the lemmata of Plato and Eratosthenes Q adds a lemma attributed to Aristotle. Daiber points out that the lemma is a conflation of the definitions found in *Phys.* 4.11, 219b1 and 4.14, 223b21–3. The passage could have been added by the Arabic translator (but it follows the method of the *Placita* perfectly). Since it is missing in both G and S (as well as P), the evidence weighs against authenticity. But why should the translator intervene in this single case?

P 5.19. After the Anaximandrian *doxa* Q preserves a *doxa* attributed to Democritus and Epicurus, which is parallel to the lemma preserved by G. In the next chapter Q's text also allows the lacuna in the lemma of Democritus-Epicurus to be filled in (not in G). But in 5.23 Q agrees with P, and does not have G's two extra lemmata (see our analysis of G above, p. 150).

P 5.27. Q preserves the *complete* Anaxagorean *doxa*, of which only the name-label and two words remain in P (the chapter is missing in G).

P 5.29. Q completes P in two ways. A passage is added to the *doxa* of Diocles and a *doxa* is furnished for Herophilus which is fuller than that found in G.

P 5.30. On the attribution of part of Alcmaeon's lemma to Herophilus, see the section on name-labels above.

It is apparent that, like G, Q had access to a copy of the *Placita* that towards the end had suffered less damage, and was thus a little fuller, than what is preserved in the mss. tradition of P.

(3) *Titles.* For the most part Q agrees with P in the chapter titles he records. Only in the case of a few chapters does he opt for a shorter title, such as we find so often in G: cf. 2.12–13, 16, 19, 31, 3.9, 14, 4.12–13, 5.23. Where Q has a longer title, this is usually due to his own intervention: cf. 1.3, 1.6, 1.8, 3.2, 3.18, 4.2 (the term ‘definition’ included in the title because of the well-known Aristotelian *doxa*), 4.13, 5.24. Genuine variants are only found at 2.11 (agreeing with S) and perhaps at 4.5. It is remarkable how accurate he is in the translation of titles. We note, however, that a table of contents (i.e. chapter titles, κεφάλαια) is not included at the beginning of each book as occurs in the mss. tradition of P.

(4) *The text.* The textual variants furnished by Q are of great interest because they have hitherto not been taken into account in the editions of the Greek text of P (not even, as we noted, by Lachenaud). It is clear that whenever one wishes to constitute or interpret the text of P or A, it will be necessary to take this evidence, as supplied by Daiber, into account. Before discussing his conclusions on the nature of the text translated by Q we give a list of interesting readings.¹¹³

P 1.1, 51.28 Mau. Q’s reading ‘ob die Sonne grösser ist, als das Ausmass, in dem er sie sieht’ may be rendered in Greek εἰ μείζων ὁ ἥλιος ἢ (τὸ) μέγεθος ὅπερ ὁράται (cf. Lachenaud (1993) 12), which furnishes an intelligent solution to the textual crux in this passage. But see also Mansfeld (1992a) 85 n. 89.

P 1.3.2, 54.5. Q appears to support Diels’ διότι ἀπέραντον (cf. E) against P (but note that Arabic cannot distinguish between ἀπέραντος and ἀπειρος, as Prof. Daiber himself informs us).

P 1.3.8, 58.3. Q has ἀφθαρτα with P against E S (and Diels).

P 1.3.12, 59.15. Q deletes P’s ἐντελέχειαν ἥτοι together with S T and the interpolator at Philo *Prov.* 1.22.

P 1.7.1, 64.19. Q reads Διαγόρας ὁ Μιλήσιος with P E and T (from E). Only G preserves the correct reading ὁ Μήλιος (Diels cites this reading for one of the mss. of P, but is not confirmed by Mau).

P 1.7.3, 67.6. Remarkably Q reads τοὺς ἀπείρους οὐρανούς θεούς with S, against P E G who have various variants.

P 1.7.5, 67.12. The final phrase, absent in S, omitted as a gloss by Diels and bracketed by Mau is present in Q. Another passage regarded as a gloss by Diels is present at 1.12.4.

P 1.10.3, 69.24. Q reads ‘aus welcher [die Materie] geworden ist, was die Gottheit geschaffen hat’, i.e. he sensibly reads ἐξ ἧς instead of ἐξ ὧν. Perhaps the original text read ἐξ ἧς γεγόνος τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ νοηθέν *vel sim.*

P 1.14.2, 71.11. Q reads σχήματα, as conjectured by Diels for P’s σώματα.

¹¹³ See also the list given by Lachenaud (1993) 12–4.

P 1.15.6, 71.24. Like G Q reads τόπων, instead of τρόπων in P, while both Diels and Mau print S's τροφῶν, as already conjectured by Corsini.

P 1.18.1, 72.18. Q probably agrees with G in affirmation rather than denial of the void (the text is not entirely certain). But the name-label agrees with P against G, who has οἱ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου (*Verschlimmbesserung*²).

P 1.26.3, 75.11. Q reads φθοράν with all mss. of P (*pace* Diels). The distribution of lemmata between 1.25 and 1.26 also follows P against G.

P 2.1.3, 80.3. Q follows P (καθηγητῆς Μητρόδωρος), differing from Cyril (μαθήτης Μητρόδωρος) and G (καθηγητῆς Λεύκιππος).

P 2.3.3, 81.4. Q includes οὔτε μὴν αἰσθητικόν with P and G, against E Cyril and also S.

P 2.5.3, 82.9. Q probably read ἀστέρος instead of P's ἄερος, together with S and one of the ms. of P.

P 2.8.1, 84.8. Q deletes the words καὶ τὰ ζῶα ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξαγαγεῖν, possibly his own modification, since they are found in S E and G (with some variation), or absent from his Greek text.

P 2.13.7, 87.7. Q deletes the words τὰς γὰρ ἀνατολὰς καὶ τὰς δύσεις ἐξάψει εἶναι καὶ σβέσει. Again either his own intervention, since found in S E G, or lacking in his Greek text.

P 2.11.1, 85.11, 2.20.8, 91.9. In both cases Q gives very different reports than we find in P. One suspects the intervention of the translator, but Daiber *ad loc.* points out that the description of heaven as Olympus in the second text is paralleled in Empedocles, and so may come from a variant textual tradition (cf. Mansfeld (1983-86) 2.100).

P 2.21.2, 92.5. Q agrees with G in reading γῆς against the obviously correct Πελοποννήσου in P E and T. It is more likely that both had the same source-text than that they independently proposed the same modification of the text.

P 2.29.4, 96.15. Q agrees with S against the rest in omitting ἀντανυγεία καί, but this could be coincidental.

P 3.10.2, 107.2. The words 'und ihre Flächen sind gebogen' appear to offer words missing in the text of P (Daiber, pointing to Hippolytus 1.6.3, proposes αὐτῆς γυρῶν, to which at least ὄντων has to be added, but such genitive absolutes are uncommon in the *Placita*). Diels' suggestion at *DG* 219, also drawing on Hippolytus, is quite different.

P 3.15.3, 109.3. Q reads ἀραιότητα with P against G and the editors.

P 4 Pref., 114.1. Q omits the sentence making the transition from books III to IV, perhaps regarding it as part of the table of contents.

P 4.3.5, 116.11. The reading γεώδους instead of πυρώδους is new, but probably derives from a mistake. It is found *in margine* in one of the mss. of P.

P 4.7.2, 118. 15. The translation of μέχρι τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως is revealing: 'erhebt sich und gelangt zu der glühende Substanz'. Translators have to understand what they are translating!

P 4.23.3, 131.15. The passage bracketed by Diels is found in Q's text.

P 5.1.1, 133.19. Q's text appears to have been closer to G than the papyrus (see above p. 128f.), except that the words οὗτοι ... ἐγκρίνουσι are missing.

P 5.2.3, 134.10. Q probably reads θεοπνεύστους with P against θεοπέμπτους in G, the reading supported by Diels *DG* 15 (because he sees Christian

influence in the other term, cf. 1 Tim 3:16). See also in the next section on Lydus.

P 5.12ff. It is striking how often Q confirms conjectures made by Diels in this rather corrupt part of P's text. See Daiber *ad locc.*

P 5.18.2, 143.13. The text is closer to G than P, and it is possible that P has regularized the meaning, i.e. 9 months instead of the problematic 12.

P 5.25.3, 149.14. Q appears to support Reiske's emendation κόπῳ, which Diels and Mau do not include in their texts.

On the basis of these readings the conclusion must be drawn that the text that Q had at his disposal shows the most similarities with G, even if we can only perceive the original through a haze of respectively translation and alteration. Both Q and G have a fuller version than is given by the mss. tradition of P. Both agree on a number of important readings. But there are also many places where Q sides with P against G. It certainly is not possible to *reduce* Q's original to the tradition represented by G.

In an unfortunately somewhat cryptic and confusing paragraph Daiber argues that Q cannot be reduced to any other of our texts (including S!) which all derive from an archetype (β), and so must be thought to go back to an earlier archetype (α).¹¹⁴ It is easy to see how he reaches this conclusion, since there are passages in which he agrees with S, most notably at 1.3.12 and 1.7.3, other passages in which he agrees with E against G (including the important passages with the name-label Socrates), yet others vice versa and so on. It is clear that Q's exemplar (just like G's) must have anteceded the common archetype of our present mss. of P (dated by Diels *DG* 33 to about 1000). Q thus represents a

¹¹⁴ Daiber (1980) 325: 'Ar [i.e. Q] scheint auf einen bisher unbekannten griechische Archetyp (β) zurückzugehen, welcher mittelbar auch den Epitomatoren des dritten bis fünften Jahrhunderts vorgelegen hat. Da Ar [i.e. Q] andererseits zahlreiche neue, zum Teil bessere Lesarten als die auf die sog. Vulgata (von Diels, Prol. S. 40 um 200 n.Chr. datiert) zurückgehenden griechischen Exzerpte und Handschriften aufweist, ist mit ihm ein neuer griechischer Textzeuge gewonnen. Dieser hat Lesarten eines unbekannten Archetyp (α) bewahrt, welcher den Archetyp (β) der bisher bekannten griechischen Textzeugen an Güte übertrifft. Ar [i.e. Q] vertritt eine griechische Textüberlieferung, die in die Zeit vor Eusebius, d.h. in das zweite Jahrhundert zurückzugehen scheint; sie steht der sogenannten Vulgata nahe, stammt aber keineswegs einfach von ihr ab, wie noch Diels (Prol. S. 40) angenommen hatte. Denn sie weist ihr gegenüber zahlreiche, z. T. bessere Sonderlesarten auf'. The mistake here is to confuse the Vulgata postulated by Diels with the archetype of the mss. tradition of P. The diagram given is faulty. Stobaeus cannot be mediated via any mss. of P (except by contamination), but must go straight back to A. The parallelism between Q and G is quite unaccounted for. See our diagram below on p. 328.

somewhat earlier stage of the tradition, but is certainly not independent of all other mss. and witnesses, as Daiber would have it. It is much preferable to conclude that Q is a source for P that cannot be reduced to any other of our texts, whether in the direct or indirect tradition, and that his exemplar most likely corresponded most closely to G's source-text, but also shared many readings with the mss of P. Q's evidence is therefore very welcome and needs to be taken seriously in our further investigations. On the other hand we should recognize that its usefulness is limited. It only gives access to its original by means of the inevitably blurred vision of a translation into a very different tongue. Moreover, as we have already seen, the *Placita* represent a unusually fluid form of text tradition, gaining and shedding material during all its stages.¹¹⁵ In the case of Q we often have to use our judgment to determine the deviation from the original tradition of P, to the extent of course that this *can* be determined.

7. Other witnesses

The remaining witnesses to P are far less interesting because they are far less complete. We will deal with them rather briefly in chronological order.

(a) *The Philonic interpolator*

In *De providentia* I, a Philonic work¹¹⁶ preserved only in an Armenian translation, in the context of a discussion of the createdness of the universe we read the following text:¹¹⁷

Plato knows that these things [i.e. the cosmos and its contents] are made by God, and that matter, which of itself lacks adornment,

¹¹⁵ Cf. our comments above in the Introduction, p. xixf., and also the sound words of Lachenaud (1993) 14: 'La confrontation avec la traduction arabe démontre, s'il en était besoin, qu'un texte de cette nature était particulièrement exposé aux gloses et aux ajouts. Le propre de la littérature doxographique est en effet de permettre la prolifération des notices et la liberté de l'exégète.' The remainder of his paragraph, however, is in our view wrong, because it seems to us that Q does represent a text that differs from the archetype of our mss. of P.

¹¹⁶ Any doubts about its authenticity were put to rest in Wendland's detailed analysis, (1892).

¹¹⁷ Our translation, based in part on Aucher's Latin version (1822), accessible in Hadas-Lebel (1973) 146, in part on consultation with Prof. J. J. S. Weitenberg (Leiden). No modern translation direct from the Armenian exists (it has been promised by A. Terian). For a more detailed analysis of the context see Runia (1986) 119–22.

comes in the cosmos with its adornment. For these are the first causes [God and matter], from which also the cosmos came into being. For the lawgiver of the Jews Moses said also that water, darkness and chaos existed before the cosmos. Plato, however, [said that] matter [was the cause/beginning of the cosmos], Thales the Milesian water, Anaximander the Milesian the infinite, Anaximenes air, Anaxagoras of Clazomenai similar parts [i.e. the *homoiomere*], Pythagoras the son of Mnesarchus¹¹⁸ numbers, proportions and harmony, Heraclides and Hippasus of Metapontum fire, Empedocles of Agrigentum fire, water air, earth and the two principles love and strife, Aristotle the son of Nicomachus form, matter, privation, the four elements and the fifth element aither, (Empedocles [affirms] that there is a single cosmos, but that [this is] not the whole universe, but a rather small part of that whole, but the remainder is empty matter [*sic!*]), Zeno the son of Mnasa air, God, matter and the four elements.

It will be recognized that this text gives a somewhat garbled summary of the following *doxai* in P: 1.3.1-2-3-4-7-8-10-12, 1.5.2, 1.3.13.¹¹⁹ Two arguments can be given in support of Diels' position that they have been interpolated in Philo's text from P.¹²⁰

(i) There is a break in the train of thought from the causes of creation (in Plato and then in Moses) to the *archai* of reality. The suppression of words 'was the cause (or *archè*) of the cosmos' in the second sentence with Plato as subject is extremely awkward.

(ii) The citation of philosophers' names together with places of origin or patronymics in such a bald and didactic fashion is quite contrary to Philo's style.¹²¹

It is true, as Hadas-Lebel is right to observe,¹²² that the second Empedoclean *doxa* (from 1.5.2, i.e. a different chapter in P) looks much more like an interpolation than the rest. Nevertheless we consider it plausible that this passage is the result of some marginal glosses that have crept into the text.

A more difficult question is to determine whether the extracts come from P, or from an anterior doxography, i.e. A or even the

¹¹⁸ Aucher's translation (*et*) *Mnes regis filius* is based on a faulty reading of the Armenian text.

¹¹⁹ See the table set out by Diels *DG* 1-2.

¹²⁰ It is not necessary to argue as Diels does, however, that the whole of the work was reshaped because it was originally a dialogue just as *Prov.* II; cf. the remarks of Terian (1984) 284f.

¹²¹ As was Diels was right to argue at *DG* 3. Compare for example the names given in *Prov.* 2.42 & 48, and the extensive presentation of anonymous *doxai* at *Somn.* 1.21-32, analysed in Wendland (1897).

¹²² Hadas-Lebel (1973) 147.

Vetusta Placita.¹²³ After all, all the *doxai* from 1.3 cited in the text are also found in S (but not the *doxa* from 1.5). Here we can only invoke the principle of probability. Nine *doxai* are cited in exactly the same order as they appear in P, and contain no material that exceeds P.¹²⁴ The probability of this happening if the text cited the more copious source A¹²⁵ is not great. We conclude that, although it is *not absolutely impossible* that this material was cited by Philo and had its origin in A, the viewpoint of Diels that it was interpolated from P into Philo's text is the more probable by far. This could have happened any time between the composition of P and the translation into Armenian, which took place in the 6th century. The chronological implications of this conclusion have already been mentioned in our discussion of the dating of P above.¹²⁶

(b) *Athenagoras*

As noted above, we consider the evidence of the doxographical material in the *Legatio* insufficient to prove dependence on P. This material is further discussed below Ch. 6, p. 312ff.

(c) *Irenaeus*

In an article on philosophy and rhetoric in the *Adversus Haereses* of Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons (c. 130–c. 195), Schoedel has drawn attention to a list of topics compiled in order to show the limitations of human knowledge even in the sub-lunary sphere. Of the 15 topics 11 correspond to the contents of P.¹²⁷ Especially interesting is the mention of the rise of the Nile, the subject of the somewhat anomalous chapter at the beginning of P book IV.¹²⁸ But the ordering of the topics, plus the fact that four of them do not occur in P, make any direct relation to P out of the question.

¹²³ As still argued by Mansfeld (1971) 131, and also by Terian (1984) 285.

¹²⁴ There is one mistake: in the last *doxa* (Zeno) the text cites ἀέρα instead of ἀρχάς; the remaining errors are due to the translation into Armenian.

¹²⁵ But it must be emphasized that the composition of this chapter in A is highly problematic, since the additional material that S appears to offer is of a different nature than what we find in P and S together.

¹²⁶ See above p. 124ff.

¹²⁷ Schoedel (1959), list at 23–4, referring to *Adv. Haer.* 2.28.2. The topics are dealt with in P at 4.1, 3.17, 3.4, 3.3, 3.3, 3.4, 3.7, 3.4, 3.4, 2.24, 3.16.

¹²⁸ The same subject is discussed in Lucretius 6.712–37. The correspondence between P (and A) and Lucretius book VI is much greater than that observed by Schoedel in Irenaeus.

(d) *Pseudo-Justin Cohortatio ad Graecos*

Our next document is yet another pseudonymous work, this time nestled among the works attributed to Justin Martyr. During the last few years two new editions and an exhaustive commentary have shed much light on this long neglected text.¹²⁹ From the formal point of view the treatise combines exhortation (λόγος προτρεπτικός) and refutation (ἔλεγχος).¹³⁰ The author urges his pagan readers to abandon the erring ways of their teachers and turn to the truth as revealed to Moses and the Jewish prophets. This aim induces him to adopt a double attitude towards the Greeks poets, sages and philosophers. In the first part of the work (§2–7) he criticizes them sharply for their contradictions and aberrations. Later (§14–34) he argues that some aspects of the truth can be found in the poets and philosophers (especially Plato), because they had learnt it through the acquaintance with Moses' books gained when visiting Egypt.¹³¹

For his knowledge of Greek philosophical doctrines the author makes heavy use of Middle Platonist sources. But for knowledge of authors other than Plato (and Aristotle), and equally for summary statements of Platonic and Aristotelian doctrine he also turns to doxographical sources, as he clearly hints at when he says that he will expound τὴν δόξαν of each philosopher (§3.1) and that is necessary to examine τὰς δόξας of these men (§5.1).¹³² Like other Christian apologetic writers such as Eusebius and Theodoret he adopts the sceptical strategy of emphasizing the dissension and disagreement of the philosophers among each other, as contrasted to the unified truth disclosed by the divine Spirit to Moses and the prophets (cf. 4.2 πρὸς ἀλλήλους στασιάζειν, 6.1 οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις

¹²⁹ Text and full *apparatus fontium*, Marcovich (1990a); commentary and *Lesetext* based on full examination of the mss., Riedweg (1994).

¹³⁰ Riedweg argues that the title Λόγος παραινετικός πρὸς Ἕλληνας was attached later on the basis of its opening words, and suggests that the original title may have been Λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας περὶ τῆς ἀληθοῦς θεοσεβείας, based on §1.2. Since the matter is uncertain, we retain the conventional title.

¹³¹ The structural analysis of Marcovich (1990a) 13–19 is tripartite, that of Riedweg (1994) 18 bipartite. Both agree that despite various infelicities the work is reasonably coherent, and certainly does not deserve the scathing treatment it received at the hands of Geffcken (1907) 267–72. On the 'dependency' theme, esp. as used by Clement, Eusebius and Theodoret, see now Ridings (1995), and for Hippolytus Mansfeld (1992b).

¹³² Cf. also §3.1 τὰς τῶν ποιητῶν περὶ θεῶν δόξας, 4.2 ἐναντίους τῆς ἀλλήλων δόξας κτλ, and cf. similar phrases at Athenagoras, *Leg.* 6.2, 24.1.

συμφωνοῦντες, 7.2 περὶ ψυχῆς φιλονεικεῖν καὶ στασιάζειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους etc.).¹³³

Only in §3.2–4.1 and 5.4–6.1 is use of P clear-cut.¹³⁴ If we had only 3.2 we might hesitate, since the excerpts from 1.3 in this section are very brief and rather loosely paraphrased (comparable with Theodoret's use of A, as we shall see in chapter 5). Moreover Heraclitus¹³⁵ is given a different position in the sequence. The author places him between Anaximenes and Anaxagoras among the succession of φυσικοί, rather than after Pythagoras, as in P.¹³⁶ There must have been numerous doxographies of the ἀρχαί, and our author might have followed a slightly different version. But the excerpts from the δόξαι of Pythagoras, Epicurus and Empedocles in 4.1 and a repetition of Thales' views at 5.4 are longer and more literal, and prove conclusively that the author had P in front of him. This yields some interesting readings in which ps.Justin is closer to E than the mss. of P.¹³⁷ Somewhat similarly to Eusebius the author exploits the chapter on principles for theological purposes, making almost no use of P 1.7 on theology proper.¹³⁸ In the exposition of the views of Plato and Aristotle on principles and theology, the author turns to a source which dwells on the differences between them in a set of διαφωνίαι (cf. the material in G §16–17 noted above).¹³⁹

A second familiar stratagem used by our author is the move from macrocosm (i.e. the doctrine of principles, equated with theology and concentrated in the heavens) to microcosm.¹⁴⁰ The

¹³³ Above n. 38 and text thereto. For Hippolytus cf. Mansfeld (1992b) 27f.

¹³⁴ Verbal parallels clearly set out in Riedweg's commentary, 231–3, 244–6.

¹³⁵ The text reads Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Μεταπόντιος. Earlier editors had given the author the benefit of the doubt and inserted (καὶ Ἰππασσος), but the oversight is no doubt the author's: cf. Riedweg 231: 'zeigt, wie flüchtig er hier zitiert'.

¹³⁶ Cf. Diels *DG* 17, who notes that the change from Ἰωνικὴν to φυσικὴν a few lines later may have been motivated by the inclusion of Heraclitus. Both in P and here two schemes tend to get mixed: (i) the ἀρχαί as a sequence of elements (cf. G 18 etc.); (ii) the ἀρχαί in terms of the standard scheme of the Ionic and Italian διαδοχαί. Our author merely makes a small adjustment.

¹³⁷ E.g. in the *doxa* of Epicurus at P 1.3.8 58.3: Mau ps.Justin ἀγέννητα, ἀφθαρτα, E ἀγέννητα, ἀδιάφθαρτα, P ἀγέννητα, αἰδία, ἀφθαρτα; 58.4: ps.Justin διάπλασιν, E P² διπλάσιον, P¹ διαπλασμόν.

¹³⁸ Possible exception at 19.1, where Marcovich rightly observes that the formulation of Pythagoras' monadic theology recalls P 1.7.5.

¹³⁹ See p. 143f. The formulation of the forms as thoughts of God at ps.Justin 7.1 repeats material from P 1.3.11 used earlier in §6.1.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. above n. 43.

philosophers cannot even agree on the nature of their own soul (§6.2, 7.2). Here the author draws on material—firstly the difference between Plato and Aristotle (§6.2), secondly a long diaeresis without name-labels (§7.2)—which is clearly related to the structure and lemmata in P 4.2-3-6 on the nature and motion of the soul, but cannot have been taken from there.¹⁴¹ Every indication points to the conclusion that this material belongs to the broadly disseminated tradition of the *Vetusta Placita*.¹⁴²

Finally a brief word needs to be said about author and date. The conventional wisdom has been a date in about the middle of the 3rd century.¹⁴³ Riedweg now argues that a date later than 275 and probably between 312 and 322 is more probable.¹⁴⁴ He points out the many agreements in contents and strategy with the work of Eusebius (esp. the *Praeparatio Evangelica*). Moreover lexical and stylistic analysis by means of the computer suggest the authorship of Marcellus of Ancyra (c. 280–374/5).¹⁴⁵ Since of this author only some theological fragments remain, this identification is of little relevance for our study. From the limited perspective of the doxographical tradition, however, this attribution does make excellent sense, for Marcellus—if it is he—joins three other bishops who make use of P or A, i.e. Eusebius, Cyril, Theodoret.

(e) *Cyril of Alexandria*

In his savagely polemical treatise *Contra Julianum* the 5th century bishop (c. 380–444) makes extensive use of Eusebius and the

¹⁴¹ Proven by the lemma attributed to Hippon that the soul is ὕδωρ γονοποιόν. Compare the *doxa* in S (i.e. from A), "Ἰππὼν ἐξ ὕδατος τὴν ψυχὴν, but here the rare term γονοποιός is missing; it is only found elsewhere at Hermias 2, 651.12 Diels; on this text see further Ch. 6, p. 315f.

¹⁴² On these texts see further Mansfeld (1990a) 3072, 3080, 3089–91. Riedweg (1994) 267 suggests 'vielleicht wurden diese akademischen Placita in der jüngeren Skepsis überarbeitet', but there is no evidence for this.

¹⁴³ *T.p.q.* constituted by the use of the *Chronicle* of Julius Africanus, which ends at 221; *t.a.q.* by the mention of the work (attributed then already to Justin Martyr) by Eusebius at *HE* 4.18.4. See references to previous scholarship at Marcovich (1990a) 3–4.

¹⁴⁴ Riedweg (1994) 28–53. There are two main arguments. Firstly he rejects the view that Eusebius refers to our work at *HE* 4.18.4, so that a date of c. 313 cannot be taken as *t.a.q.*, For this we have to take the use made of the work by Cyril c. 440 (in our view, however, a superficial acquaintance with the work could have easily led Eusebius to describe it in the terms used). Secondly he argues probable dependence on works of Porphyry on oracles and divine images, which entails a *t.p.q.* of no earlier than about 275.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 167–182.

Cohortatio ad Graecos. In the use he makes of the *Placita*, however, it is apparent that he had independent access to P. This use can be summarized as follows:¹⁴⁶

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1.38.17–39.6 | paraphrase of P 1.7.2, 4, 7, 8 |
| 2.14–15 | literal citation of P 2.1–4 |
| 2.22.7-18, 52.21-24 | brief excerpts from P 1.6. |

Since Eusebius does not cite 1.6, 2.1-2, it is *certain* that Cyril had his own copy of P. The most interesting passage is the second. Julian had argued that the creation account of Moses was just a lot of nonsense and had expressed his admiration for the δόξαι of the Greeks. In his counterattack Cyril introduces his source Plutarch as a man not without distinction in pagan matters, gives the precise location of his quote (ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ βιβλίῳ τῆς τῶν Φυσικῶν δογμάτων συναγωγῆς), and then, having quoted the first four chapters, he draws the predictable conclusion (§16.1-14):¹⁴⁷

You hear, o men, and understand now what a lot of nonsense this all is. They stand there in opposition to each other's opinions, the one belching out this, the other that in a jumble, speaking absolutely and without examination according to what seems right to them. What else can one conclude than that they guess at the truth and do not possess as knowledge? For the one group says that the cosmos is unique, the other that there are numerous worlds, others say it is created, but there are also those who are totally opposed to this view and differ in their verdicts, saying that it is indestructible and uncreated. And one group says it is administered by the providence of God, while others do without providence and have attributed the orderly movement of the elements to spontaneities and incidental events. And the one group says the cosmos is ensouled, while the other says it has neither soul nor intelligence. To sum up, you see their doctrine on each subject swaying from this side to that as if it were enebriated.

Not only does Cyril use the usual sceptical terminology (note the

¹⁴⁶ We use the new text of Burguière-Évieux (1985), which, though only covering Books I and II, contains all the *Placita* material.

¹⁴⁷ Our translation: ἀκούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ συνίετε λοιπὸν πόσος ἐν τούτοις ὁ λῆρος. ταῖς γὰρ ἀλλήλων ἀντανιστάμενοι δόξαις, τοῦτο τε κάκεινο φύρδην ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀκατασκέπτως κατὰ τὸ ἐκάστω δοκοῦν ἐρευγόμενοι, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἶναι νοοῖντο στοχασταὶ μᾶλλον, καὶ οὐ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπιστήμονες; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἓνα τὸν κόσμον, οἱ δὲ πολλούς, ἕτεροι δὲ γενητόν, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τούτοις εἰσάπαν ἀνθεστηκότες καὶ διάφοροι τὰς γνώμας ἄφθαρτόν τε καὶ ἀγένητον εἶναι λέγουσιν αὐτόν· καὶ οἱ μὲν προνοίᾳ θεοῦ διοικούμενον, οἱ δὲ καὶ προνοίας δίχα καὶ τὴν τῶν στοιχείων εὐτακτον κίνησιν αὐτοματισμοῖς καὶ συμβεβηκόσιν ἐκνεμεήκασιν· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνυχώσθαι φασιν αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ οὔτε ἔμψυχον οὔτε νοερόν· καὶ ἀπαξ ἀπλῶς κατῖδοι τις ἂν οἰονεῖ μεθύοντα τῇδε κάκεισε διαρριπτούμενον τὸν ἐφ' ἐκάστω λόγον αὐτοῖς.

contrast στοχασταὶ versus ἀληθείας ἐπιστήμονες), but in his summary of the four chapters he accurately observes the series of διαφωνίαι which determine their structure. Diels argued persuasively on the basis of a few readings that Cyril possessed an excellent copy of P (*DG* 10-12). Certainly the brief extracts we have adhere very closely to the received text. On two occasions, 1.7.3 and 2.4.1, his readings offer significant differences.¹⁴⁸ But his extracts on account of their brevity unfortunately can only make a very limited contribution.

(f) *Theodoret*

As we noted at the outset of this chapter, the bishop cites the title of P at *CAG* 4.31, and twice elsewhere refers to Plutarch when this particular work is meant (2.95, 4.16).¹⁴⁹ Diels argues that this knowledge was derived from Eusebius (*DG* 10), as well as the material drawn from 1.7 at 2.112 and 3.4 is taken from Eusebius *PE* 14.16.1.¹⁵⁰ He thinks Theodoretus only possessed a copy of A, not P. But there is a snag. How does Theodoret know that P is called an *Epitome*, when Eusebius only refers to it as a 'Collection'?¹⁵¹ It is more likely, in our view, that he possessed a copy of both, but—fortunately for us—preferred to use the fuller A.¹⁵²

(g) *Johannes Lydus*

In the first half of the 6th century Lydus (490–c. 555) makes direct use of P in his treatise *De mensibus*.¹⁵³ The following passages are cited:¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁸ See discussion in Diels. The new edition by Burguière and Évieux corrects the Migne edition at one or two interesting points; e.g. the deviant reading μαθητής at 2.1.3 is replaced by the standard καθηγητής in P.

¹⁴⁹ See above p. 122 and further citation in Ch. 2, p. 77.

¹⁵⁰ The *Leitfehler* Διαγόρου τοῦ Μιλησίου supports this. See further below p. 178.

¹⁵¹ Using the term συναγαγών when describing P's method at 14.13.9, 15.22.69, 15.32.9. From this one might deduce that the work in question has the form of an *Epitome*, but not that the term would appear in the title. On the title of P see further below p. 182.

¹⁵² See further also our debate with A. Lebedev below at p. 334f.

¹⁵³ The first of his three extant works, probably written in before 540; cf. Klotz (1927) 2211, Carney (1969) 801.

¹⁵⁴ Diels misses quite a bit of material here, noting only the first passage, and so not including the others in his supplementary sources in the left column of his A. These other passages make his argument at *DG* 17 that Lydus did not derive his material from Eusebius quite beside the point. Mau

—3.12, 53.6–54.10: All lemmata in 2.25 and 2.28 and 2.31.3 are copied out almost *verbatim*, except the longer *doxai*, which are shortened. The name-label in 2.25.1 is mistaken (Anaximenes instead of Anaximander). The citation of 2.31.3 fills a lacuna in P.

—4.63, 114.9–10: The information on the sphericity of the earth according to the Stoics may be derived from P 3.10.1.

—4.81, 133.9–134.2: All lemmata in 1.26–28 are cited except 28.4. Lydus' method of paraphrase here is very loose. For example he combines 1.26.1 & 4 into: Πλάτων γε μὴν τὰ μὲν εἰς πρόνοιαν, τὰ δὲ εἰς ἀνάγκην ἀνήγαγεν, ὅτε μὲν τὴν ὕλην, ὅτε δὲ τὴν τοῦ ποιούντος σχέσιν αἰτιώμενος. If the sentence is supposed to be chiasmic, this is hardly made clear!

—4.83, 134.8–20: 3.17.1, 2, 3 are paraphrased. To §2 Lydus appends the remark τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ οἱ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις φιλοσοφούντες, probably thinking of Pliny *NH* 2.215ff. (the same book used extensively in the *De ostentis*).

4.84, 134.21–135.2: Direct jump to 5.8.2 & 1, where the name-label is wrong: Plato instead of Strato (perhaps not his mistake, since this is a common scribal error).

—4.135, 162.5–7: Very brief paraphrase of 5.2.3 & 1. Interestingly we learn that Lydus read θεοπέμπτους at §3 with G against PQ θεοπνεύστους.

In his dissertation Bluhme usefully places these texts (except, oddly, 4.81) in parallel columns.¹⁵⁵ But his argument that Lydus used a different epitome of Aëtius than the one we have is jejune.¹⁵⁶ Lydus in fact loosely paraphrases and adapts his source, rather in the manner of Theodoret's handling of A. His value as a textual witness is thus limited. The contents of what he takes over, however, is generally accurate.¹⁵⁷ Finally we note that, in contrast to the earlier Christian authors, his attitude to his source is quite

too misses the extra capita. We cite the edition of Wuensch (1898), who makes all the right identifications (cf. also Klotz (1927) 2213). For his source material for Lydus Diels may have been dependent on the dissertation of Schultze (1862), who at 45 only notes the passages from Book II.

¹⁵⁵ Bluhme (1906) 47–54. His further suggestion that at 4.40, 97.26–98.1, Lydus is indebted to P 1.3.7 is very doubtful.

¹⁵⁶ Bluhme (1906) 53f. Note his remark that Lydus' exemplar is in one place 'amplificatum', i.e. the remark on the Roman philosophers explained above. The comment 'quod utrum Lydus de suis addiderit an aliunde petiverit, in incerto nobis relinquendum est' is silly. Such a remark could not be drawn from the *Placita*.

¹⁵⁷ The list of mistakes at Bluhme (1906) 46 is fairly restricted (the name-label mistake at 2.25.1 may be due to abbreviation, cf. above n. 88). Klotz (1927) 2216 concludes: 'Wo er die Vorlage selbst vor sich hat [i.e. not citing from memory], schreibt er besser ab; z.B. die doxographischen Angaben aus Plutarch.'

neutral, never mentioning him by name, but merely exploiting him as a source of antiquarian information.

(h) *Byzantine authors*

As the manuscript tradition indicates, P's *Epitome* survived during the Byzantine period, but the information that can be gained from Byzantine authors is, at the present state of our knowledge at least, quite limited.¹⁵⁸ Both Photius and the *Souda* make no mention of it. We shall briefly discuss two works that make somewhat unusual use of our source. The first is the complex work generally known as *De omnifaria doctrina* written by the Byzantine intellectual Michael Psellus (1018–c.1090).¹⁵⁹ The first version of the work was entitled Ἐπιλύσεις σύντομοι ἀποριῶν φυσικῶν, and deals only with Physics. In §1–48 (Books I, II) and 122–130 (V, IV) of this version the chapter headings are taken from P.¹⁶⁰ As Westerink notes, the plan and scope of the work was obviously to follow the subject matter dealt with by the *Epitome*. But for the contents of the chapters Psellus makes very little use of P, generally substituting more systematic discussions based on Platonist or Aristotelian philosophy for the doxographical material of the *Placita*. The name-labels disappear almost completely: Psellus is not interested in obscure names from the distant past. In the second version known as the Διδασκαλία παντοδαπὴ Psellus added material on theology, ethics and other subjects, and rearranged all the material in a systematic whole. This means that the chapters headed by titles from P are scattered throughout the work (e.g. the first 7 capita located at §57, 82, 83, 151, 152, 19, 15). Occasionally an interesting reading in the original source can be surmised, as in the following example:¹⁶¹

§116 Πῶς ὄνειροι γίνονται

Πολλαὶ τῶν ὀνείρων εἰσὶν αἱ αἰτίαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰσι θεόπνευστοι ἄνωθεν διὰ μέσου τοῦ νοῦ τῇ λογικῇ ἡμῶν ψυχῇ ἐγγινόμενοι· οἱ δὲ οἶον ἀπηχήματα εἰσὶ τῶν ἡμερινῶν πράξεων· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς φανταστικῆς ἐντυποῦνται δυνάμεως, φανταζούσης ἡμῖν τοὺς ἡμερινοὺς ἔρωτας ἢ ἄλλο τι πάθος ψυχῆς.

¹⁵⁸ Diels *DG* 27-33 provides much learning but little illumination.

¹⁵⁹ For what follows cf. Westerink (1948). We simplify the four versions to the two main ones.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 2-3.

¹⁶¹ Text at Westerink (1948) 63.

The title is drawn from P 5.2, and behind the tripartition can be discerned the shadowy presence of the *doxa* of Herophilus in §3, which also has three types of dreams. This might encourage us to deduce that Psellus had θεοπνεύστους rather than θεοπέμπτους in his text. As fortune would have it the very last chapter of P, 5.30, which is but briefly excerpted at *Omnif. Doctr.* 117, is written out in full in a fragment entitled Ἐπιλύσεις διαφόρων ἐρωτημάτων published by Boissonade in 1838, furnishing a welcome additional witness for the damaged end of the work.¹⁶² References to P in other works of Psellus are no more than casual allusions.¹⁶³

The second work is much less well-known. It is the Σύνοψις τῶν φυσικῶν of Psellus' slightly older contemporary Symeon Seth, a high-ranking court official in Byzantium in the middle of the 11th century. This work consisting of five short λόγοι was first published in its complete form by A. Delatte in 1939.¹⁶⁴ The opening words refer to P and are worth quoting:¹⁶⁵

Plutarch, O mightiest and most divine king, when he outlined various opinions and did not demonstrate and confirm which was the true one, confused the mind and brought about doubt rather than

¹⁶² Boissonade (1838) 66–67, Diels *DG* 30–31. We note in the case of the first lemma, that Psellus agrees with P and S against Q (cf. above p. 157).

¹⁶³ Cf. lists at Littlewood (1985) 163, Gautier (1989) 461. The most interesting text is perhaps *Orat. Min.* 24.50–2, where Psellus upbraids his pupils for lacking interest in physical causes, and uses the titles of 3.15–6 as illustration. We note that the formulation of the latter, ὁπόθεν τό θαλάττιον ὕδωρ ἄλμυρόν πέφυκε, is closer to the title in G than P. The list of ἀρχαί at *Theol.* 6.70–87 is not based on direct use of P. At *Theol.* 69.21 he cites the definition of φύσις from P 1.1 and not from the original text in Arist. *Phys.* 2.1, 192b20.

¹⁶⁴ He supplies the relevant biographical details and a text based on the examination of some 30 mss. A separate version of the first three books entitled ἐπιλύσεις σύντομοι φυσικῶν ζητημάτων attributed to Psellus had been published by Seeboode in 1840 and 1857, and had found its way into vol. 122 of Migne's *PG*. Diels refers to it in a footnote at *DG* 29.

¹⁶⁵ Delatte (1939) 17.3–18.15. Because of its inaccessibility we cite the original text: ὁ μὲν Πλούταρχος, ὃ μέγιστε καὶ θεϊότατε βασιλεῦ, διαφόρους δόξας ἀπαριθμούμενος καὶ τὴν ἀληθὴ μὴ ἀποδεικνύων καὶ πιστούμενος συγχέει μᾶλλον τὸν λογισμὸν καὶ ἀπορεῖν παρασκευάζει ἢ εἰς ἐπίστασιν ἄγει· τὸν δὲ μέλλοντα ἐπὶ τὴν γῶσιν ἰέναι τῶν ὄντων δεῖ μετὰ ἀποδείξεως ἕκαστον διαγνῶναι ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀρχόμενον καὶ ὁδῷ προϊόντα ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀνίεναι τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχήν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ παρόντι συγγράμματι ἐτέραν ἐτραπόμην τοῦτω ὁδόν. καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀρχόμενος ἀποδείξω περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ὅτι τυγχάνει σφαιροειδῆς... ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ τὸ ὕδατος καὶ θαλάσσης... ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων σωμάτων καὶ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῶν καὶ μεγέθους ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ κινήσεως ἀστέρων. ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ περὶ ὕλης καὶ εἰδούς καὶ φύσεως καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ νοῦ. ἐν δὲ τῷ πέμπτῳ περὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν ὄντων αἰτίας.

leading it to a settled state. He who is about to advance to knowledge of reality should obtain demonstrated knowledge on each thing, beginning with what is visible and methodically advancing until reaching the very principle of the universe. For this reason in the present treatise I have taken a path that differs from his (i.e. Plutarch). First starting from the most distant things I shall demonstrate concerning the earth in the first *logos* that it is spherical... In the second I shall offer demonstrations on water and the sea... In the third on the heavenly bodies and their nature and the size of the sun and the moon and the motion of the stars. In the fourth on matter and form and nature and soul and mind. In the fifth on the first cause of reality.

In effect Symeon is offering a counter-treatise to P, containing not *doxai* of various philosophers but an account of demonstrable knowledge, based (ultimately) on Aristotle and ancient science (with some theology mixed in), but mostly derived from intermediary handbooks. The order of treatment is also quite different than in the doxographical tradition, ending with the principles rather than beginning with them. However, somewhat similarly to Psellus, he does make use of the chapter titles of P's treatise in order to structure parts of his work. This is particularly clear in the 3rd book.¹⁶⁶

Λόγος τρίτος Περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων

- 27. Περὶ κόσμου, = P 2.1
- 28. Περὶ σχήματος οὐρανοῦ, cf. P 2.2
- 29. Εἰ ἔμπυχος ὁ κόσμος καὶ προνοία διοικούμενος, = P 2.3
- 30. Εἰ ἀφθαρτος ὁ κόσμος, = P 2.4
- 31. Εἰ τρέφεται ὁ οὐρανός, cf. P 2.5
- 32. Περὶ τάξεως κόσμου, = P 2.7
- 33. Περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ἐγκλίσεως, cf. P 2.8
- 34. Περὶ τοῦ εἶ ἔστι κενὸν ἐκτὸς τοῦ κόσμου, = P 2.9
- 35. Τίνα δεξία τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τίνα ἀριστερά, = P 2.10
- 36–37. Τίς ἡ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οὐσία, = P 2.11
- 38. Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ νοουμένων κύκλων, cf. P 2.12
- 39. Τίς ἡ τῶν ἀστέρων οὐσία, = P 2.13
- 40. Περὶ σχημάτων ἀστέρων, = P 2.14
- 41. Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀστέρων φορέως, = P 2.16 etc. etc.

But unlike Psellus Symeon makes no use whatsoever of the contents of P's chapters. His work contains almost no doxography in the strict sense at all.¹⁶⁷ It is therefore a further indication of the

¹⁶⁶ The chapter numbers are those of Delatte's edition, who ignores the division into 5 *logoi*.

¹⁶⁷ An exception in §30, where the Aristotelian and Platonic views on the eternity of the cosmos are *not* drawn from P; cf. also §31, 36–37. The list

popularity of P's compendium in Byzantium, but no help whatsoever for textual purposes. This also applies to the remaining Byzantine authors and scholiasts mentioned by Diels. They offer nothing of any value for our understanding of P.

8. *Conclusion on the indirect tradition*

Our examination of the sources for and witnesses to P outside the direct tradition of the Greek manuscripts has come to a close. The result of our enquiry is two-fold. The indirect tradition (including Q) demonstrates that P as handed down in the Greek mss. is slightly defective. Both G and Q give access to a limited amount of material, above all in book V, that must have stood in the original *Epitome*. More importantly, however, it has emerged that this indirect tradition, to the extent that it is dependent on P (i.e. excluding the non-Plutarchean material in G) can in no way assist us in gaining a better picture of the original A. For this reason the value of these sources will always remain restricted.¹⁶⁸

9. *The problem of ps.Plutarch's text*

(a) *the manuscript tradition*

Finally we turn to the direct manuscript tradition of P, which is directly related to the survival of the Plutarchean *Moralia*. A brief description may be permitted.¹⁶⁹ The important manuscripts are the following:¹⁷⁰

M Codex Mosquensis Mus. Hist. Syn. gr. 352 (formerly 501), saec. XI-XII¹⁷¹ (= Diels A)

of named philosophers at Delatte (1939) 127 is very revealing.

¹⁶⁸ An exception might be made for the remarkable reading of one of the papyri which suggested there may have been an edition of P in two books (see above, p. 128). But no conclusions should be drawn from such a speculative subject.

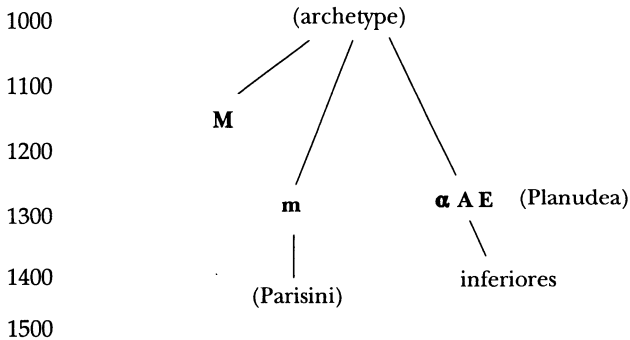
¹⁶⁹ Description of mss. based on Diels *DG* 33-40, Mau (1971) vi-ix (who partly depends on Pohlenz (1925) v-xliii), and Lachenaud (1993) 6-10 (who draws on Flacelière-Irigoin (1987) ccxxxix-cclxxxiv). More general accounts of the mss. tradition in *ibid.* and Garzya-Giangrande-Manfredini (1988). With regard to dating of the mss. involved there is a consensus except on one ms., on which see below, n. 171.

¹⁷⁰ We use the sigla of the most recent editor, Lachenaud.

¹⁷¹ The dating is controversial; Flacelière-Irigoin (1987) cclii give s. XI, but affirm that our treatise is written in a different hand which seems to be a century later.

- m** Codex Marcianus gr. 521, saec. XIII (= Diels B, Mau)
- α** Codex Ambrosianus C 126 (= gr. 859), just before 1296 AD
- A** Codex Parisinus 1671, 1296 AD
- E** Codex Parisinus 1672, soon after 1302 (= Diels C)

The last three mss. are the so-called Planudean codices, since they were put together and commissioned by Maximus Planudes in his effort to systematize the collection of the *Moralia*. Other Planudean mss. are of no independent importance.¹⁷² Two other Parisian mss. (1734, 2423) are copies of the Marcianus (**m**). The Planudean family (**αAE**) are usually in agreement with each other, hence the symbol Π is used for their convergence. That the entire stemma records a single tradition probably derived from a single archetype, is shown by the fact that they are all defective at the end of Book V (contrast the fuller versions of Galen and Qusṭā). The three editors Diels, Mau, and Lachenaud agree that the two non-Planudean mss. and the Planudean group are independent of each other.¹⁷³ This results in the following stemma:¹⁷⁴



¹⁷² These are **β** Vat. 1013 (s. XIV), from which Laur. 80.12 (s. XV) is copied and **γ** Vat. 139 (soon after 1296). Mau and Lachenaud also cite two Florentine mss. Laur. 31,37 and 80,30, but do not indicate their relationship to the other mss. Ms. **v** Vat. Urb. gr. 98 (s. XIV) also contains P; it is seldom referred to by the two recent editors, and its relation to other mss. unfortunately is not defined.

¹⁷³ Though Lachenaud reluctantly. He notes Flacelière's theory, (1987) cclxxvii, that **α** may be derived from M, but does not declare himself, (1993) 7.

¹⁷⁴ We furnish a diagram because the two recent editors do not. Diels' impressive diagram (*DG* 40) tries to combine the direct tradition and the other works parallel to it. But, as we shall see directly, his information on the tradition of P is incomplete.

From thence the first Latin translation was published by Budé in 1505, and the *editio princeps* by Aldus Manutius followed in 1509, both at Venice.¹⁷⁵

The manuscript tradition is thus reasonably clear, and certainly does not form an obstacle to a critical edition. We do have to take into account, however, both the complexities of the indirect tradition, and the fact that one is editing a doxographical work. We shall now devote brief remarks to the edition of Diels and the two more recent modern critical editions. Earlier editions from the 16th to the 18th century were briefly discussed in the first chapter above.¹⁷⁶ These made valuable contributions (especially by Corsini and Beck), which were absorbed into the editions of Diels and his followers.¹⁷⁷

(b) *Diels' edition*

For all its considerable merits there are three reasons why Diels' edition is now thoroughly unsatisfactory. Firstly it is lacking in some of the source material.¹⁷⁸ Its use of the manuscripts is incomplete, it could not take into account the papyri and Q, it did not yet have access to critical editions of Eusebius and some of the minor witnesses. Secondly, though it makes a large number of brilliant emendations and suggestions for textual improvement, it shares the common fate of 19th century editions that it suffers from an excess of critical ingenuity. The main problem, however, lies elsewhere. What Diels wants to do in the *DG* is not produce a text of P at all, but rather *a text of Aëtius based on P*.¹⁷⁹ He is not interested in the *Epitome* as an independent piece of work, but

¹⁷⁵ Diels *DG* 39, 41, Flacelière-Irigoin (1987) cclxxxvii, ccxciv. An earlier Latin translation of G had been made by Niccolò da Reggio, on which see above, Ch. 1, p. 23.

¹⁷⁶ See above, Ch. 1, §6.

¹⁷⁷ The hasty and superficial edition of Bernadakis in his *Teubneriana* of (1893), can be left out of consideration, even though it is later than Diels. No edition with translation is included in the Loeb Plutarch.

¹⁷⁸ Of the Planudea Diels used only E. He could not yet benefit fully from the researches of Treu, Mewaldt and Wegehaupt. α is for him still a *codex deperditus* (*DG* 38).

¹⁷⁹ As excellently noted by Mau (1971) viii: 'Itaque Hermannum Diels sequi nos oporteret, si idem atque nos propositum habuisset. nobis autem Pseudoplutarchi, Hermannus Diels Aëtii verba restituenda sunt. itaque nonnullos locos, qui a Pseudoplutarchi Aëtium excerptante secundum Diels corrupti sunt, nobis minime mutandos esse putavi, imprimis Pseudoplutarchi additamenta nobis germana, Hermannus Diels suo iure spuria sunt.'

wants to use it to gain a picture of its original, not only in terms of the macro-structure of books, chapters and lemmata, but also for the text. For example he employs a double system of brackets. Hollow square brackets ([]) in the case of passages which he thinks have been added ('interpolated' in his obsolete terminology) by P, ordinary square brackets in the case of glosses by later scribes. Thus at P 2.1.3 Diels reads Δημόκριτος καὶ Ἐπίκουρος [καὶ ὁ τούτου καθηγητὴς Μητρόδωρος] ἀπείρους κόσμους ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ κατὰ πᾶσαν περίστασιν, because he thinks the bracketed words, which are not present in S, were inserted by P on the basis of 1.5.4. Because for the macro-structure Diels gives the preference to P above S, the sequence of the text in his left column remains faithful to that of P. But P's text is not independently numbered, which gives severe problems for those wishing to cite it rather than A.¹⁸⁰ To some degree this problem is alleviated by the fact that Diels was very conscientious in recording the basis for all his textual decisions in the very extensive critical apparatus he appends to the text. But those who go no further than to consult the text he has decided upon are likely to be deceived as to the real text of P—to the extent of course that it can be determined with any certainty. Especially the relation to S is problematic. *Realiter* S has *nothing* to do with P, but is rather a parallel witness to A. But whenever S happens to agree with a witness of the indirect tradition of P, i.e. E or G, Diels is strongly inclined to insert this reading into his text. In the case of E, who generally just copies out the text, this policy can sometimes be defended. In the case of the paraphraser and manipulator G the method is risky and usually ill-advised. We give two examples that illustrate the method and show its risks:

P 1.3.10, 1.7.6, 1.10.2. In all three texts Diels leaves out the name of Socrates completely, because he argues that it was added to P's text, not by P to A. He admits that the 'interpolation' is already present in E, but calls as his witnesses both S (for A) and G (for P). As we saw above, Q supports the reading of the mss. Diels' argument (*DG* 13f.) that G exposes a *gravis-sima interpolatio* already found in E is flawed because he fails to note that G had good reasons for deleting the name-label. In the opening words of his work he had invoked Socrates as saying that the realm of φυσιολογία is inaccessible to the human mind. Moreover we have to imagine that a

¹⁸⁰ One must assume that Bernadakis, Mau and Lachenaud refrained from numbering the lemmata out of deference for Diels. For our solution to the problem see above, Ch. 2, §7, p. 109f.

copyist was responsible for adding the whole of Σωκράτης Σωφρονίσκου Ἀθηναῖος καὶ Πλάτων Ἀρίστωνος Ἀθηναῖος (αἱ γὰρ αὐταὶ περὶ παντὸς ἑκατέρου δόξααι) except the name of Plato, which is improbable to say the least. The name-labels were thus certainly in P, and Diels should have at least included them in his hollow square brackets. Whether the name-labels were present in A is more difficult to determine. It depends on an analysis of S. S deletes at 1.1.29 and 1.10.16 (the third lemma is absent). In both cases reasons can be given for intervention on his part (in 1.1. Socrates is already cited in §29a, in 1.10 various name-labels are altered, e.g. in Plato's case his birthplace is deleted). S too may have known the tradition about Socrates' lack of interest in physics.

P 1.14.2. The mss. read οἱ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου σφαιρικά τὰ σώματα τῶν τεττάρων στοιχείων... Diels argues that the corruption (or adaptation) in S (οἱ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου τὸν κόσμον σφαῖραν κατὰ σχῆμα τῶν τεττάρων στοιχείων) can only be explained if A read σφαιρικά τὰ σχήματα, and so introduced the reading into his text of P. Mau, followed by Lachenaud, retains σώματα, which is clearly the *lectio difficilior*. Unbeknown to Diels Q does support his conjecture (see above p. 158), but this is not enough to tip the balance in his favour.

(c) *Mau's edition*

Published nearly a century after Diels, as one of the last volumes of the complete Teubner edition of Plutarch, Mau's edition represents a very different kind of venture, adopting editorial principles of the 2nd half of the 20th century.¹⁸¹ In the first place he recognized his limitations. His aim is to reconstitute the text of P, not his source A.¹⁸² From this viewpoint his edition has an enormous advantage of that of Diels for the study of P. Moreover he appears to have taken all the manuscript evidence into account when constituting his text. He does not, however, use the papyri (of which he seems ignorant), and did not take the opportunity of exploiting Q.¹⁸³ The remaining indirect tradition is noted in an *apparatus testimoniorum*, but its readings are rarely mentioned in the *apparatus criticus* and seldom used for the constitution of the text. Mau is an extremely cautious editor, only emending the text when it is patently unsound, and quick to label a passage with one or more *crucis*. Here too he stands in sharp contrast to the interventionist Diels. In the context of the complex doxographical

¹⁸¹ Mau (1971) 50–153. This edition, spearheaded by Pohlenz, replaced the unsatisfactory edition of Bernadakis (1888–1906). Mau's work appears to have entered the world like a thief in the night. *APh* lists no reviews whatsoever, and, as we saw above (p. 164), it is totally ignored by Daiber (1980).

¹⁸² See the quote above in n. 179.

¹⁸³ As we noted earlier (p. 164) Mau could have used Daiber's dissertation (1968), to which he refers in his preface.

tradition, however, caution is not always a virtue. We give five examples. In the first Mau takes a (very slight) risk and is correct, in the others his conservatism is in our view mistaken.

P 1.7.1 (880D). All the mss., E, Q, and also T (probably via E, see above p. 168) read the name-label Διαγόρας ὁ Μιλήσιος (T in the genitive case). Only G reads the factually correct ὁ Μήλιος (cf. Winiarczyk (1981) 2–3 and *passim*). Diels emended in his edition (his reading of Μήλιος in Par. 1672 is not confirmed by the later editors). It is of course possible that G has himself emended his text, but Mau is right to follow Diels and give his author the benefit of the doubt.

P 1.7.4 (881D). The mss. read Δημόκριτος νοῦν τὸν θεόν, ἐμπυροειδῆ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴν, which Mau retains. In his apparatus he adds: ‘Aëtium teste Stob. scripsisse constat: Δημ. νοῦν τὴν θεὸν ἐν πυρὶ σφαιροειδεῖ (cf. Galen. Euseb. Cyrill.). Διογένης καὶ Κλεάνθης καὶ Οἰνοπίδης τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴν’. Indeed the indirect witnesses all read ἐν πυρὶ σφαιροειδεῖ. Now Mau is correct in surmising that the coalescence of the two lemmata may well have been the work of P, who is prone to do such things. But it seems excessively cautious to retain ἐμπυροειδῆ in the face of three indirect witnesses (Q’s evidence is unclear; Daiber suggests the unlikely καὶ πῦρ σφαιροειδές).

1.26.1. Mau writes out the mss., even though everything points to the correctness of Wyttenbach’s transposition of the title and the first lemma (taken over by Diels) so that the Platonic lemma becomes the last of the previous chapter. Not only is there G’s evidence, but also the stylistic consideration that the two other οὐσία chapters 1.22 and 1.28 both have their first lemma explicitly introducing the subject (22 οὐσίαν χρόνου, 28 οὐσίαν εἰμαρμένης, cf. 26 οὐσίαν ἀνάγκης). The evidence of Lydus (not used by Mau) is unclear (see above, p. 169).

2.9.3-4. Mau preserves the vulgate reading in which separate lemmata are assigned to Aristotle and Plato, even though there is virtually no difference in meaning (‘Ἀριστοτέλης [ἔλεγεν] μηδὲν εἶναι κενόν. Πλάτων μήτ’ ἐκτὸς τοῦ κόσμου μήτ’ ἐντὸς μηδὲν εἶναι κενόν.'). He does not even mention the reading of E, who simply reads Πλάτων Ἀριστοτέλης μήτ’ ἐκτὸς... Q supports E here (both G and S omit Aristotle). Diels is right to follow E.

5.20.1. A similar case. Mau retains the vulgate ἔστι πραγματεία Ἀριστοτέλους, ἐν ᾗ τέσσαρα γένη ζῶων φησί, χειρσαῖα ἔνυδρα πτηνὰ οὐράνια... But not only S, but also G Q read Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης. Diels brilliantly suggested that a couple of letters may have been smudged in a ms., and that a scribe of P read πραγ for πλατ. Mau notes in his apparatus: ‘laudationem libri cuiusdam Aristotelici ab Aëtio alienam secl. Diels’. But that is only part of the story (and the weaker part of Diels’ argument).

As these examples show, with a little bit of exaggeration one might say that what Mau offers is an edition of P^{byz}, i.e. of P as he appears in the tradition of the Byzantine mss., not of P itself, i.e. as close as possible to how the *Epitome* was originally produced. Indicative of this is the way he handles the final section of the

text, where the ms. tradition is defective. Some indication should, in our view, have been given of the extra material offered by G (and Q),¹⁸⁴ even if one might rightly hesitate to place material directly in the text.

(d) *Lachenaud's edition*

The new text published in the Budé edition of Plutarch's *Moralia*¹⁸⁵ follows in the footsteps of Mau—it too wants to edit P and not A¹⁸⁶—but improves on it in a number of respects. It is based on new collations of all the mss. The variant readings are recorded in more detail, resulting in a number of interesting new insights.¹⁸⁷ Lachenaud has looked at the papyri and Q. In the *apparatus criticus* many more interesting readings from the indirect tradition are recorded than in Mau, though the record is far from complete.¹⁸⁸ Lachenaud is slightly more optimistic about the state of the text and the possibilities of improving it than the previous editor. He removes a number of cruces, either by accepting emendations or simply because he considers the text acceptable as transmitted.¹⁸⁹ The net result, however, is a text that differs from its predecessor to a very limited extent, perhaps in no more than twenty places. In the five examples given above of Mau's method, Lachenaud follows Mau in all but the fourth (2.9.3–4), where he sensibly does restore the text to Πλάτων <Ἀριστοτέλης>.¹⁹⁰ Certainly this edition is better than its predecessors, methodologically sounder than Diels', technically better than that of Mau. But it remains rather conservative, still more an edition of P^{byz} than of P. This is particularly evident in its handling of the evidence of Eusebius

¹⁸⁴ See above p. 149 and p. 157 on the extra material in G and Q (in 5.19, 23, 29).

¹⁸⁵ Lachenaud (1993). We consider here above all the textual aspect of the volume, not its introduction and notes on the contents of P.

¹⁸⁶ The statement of aim and method at 9 is confined to a single sentence...

¹⁸⁷ E. g. at 1.3.2 he records ἐνεργεία in all the mss. (with E), whereas Mau had read ἐνεργεία and Diels a mixture of the two. At 1.7 he records the addition ἡ θεοί to the title in α.

¹⁸⁸ Note, however, that the combination of *apparatus fontium* and *apparatus testimoniorum* in a single apparatus called *Testimonia* is less clear than the separate *apparatuses* in Mau.

¹⁸⁹ Examples of cruces in Mau removed at 1.12.5, 1.23.3, 2.7.6, 2.25.7, 2.29.5, 3.16.3–4 (two).

¹⁹⁰ See the sound note at Lachenaud (1993) 100, where he points out a misleading mistake in Mau's apparatus.

and ps.Galen, which is not adequately incorporated in the constitution of the text.¹⁹¹

Now it might be countered that we are too severe in our judgment. If the mss. tradition is fairly unified, and the indirect tradition shows such a great diversity, it may be considered the most sensible course to adhere to P as transmitted wherever possible. The difficulties involved can be illustrated if we take a brief look at the complex question of the chapter titles in P and his tradition. We have already seen that there is considerable variation in the indirect sources E G Q on the length of the chapter titles when compared with P. The titles in E and G are rather often shorter, those in Q sometimes shorter than in P. Often S agrees with these witnesses in putting forward a shorter title. Moreover the papyri reveal that in the 3rd century short titles were in use. Once again some examples will be illuminating (P represents the mss. tradition, S is placed in brackets since he often alters the titles to suit his own purposes and is here cited for comparison only):

- 2.13 E Τίς ἡ οὐσία τῶν ἄστρον πλανητῶν καὶ ἀπλανῶν
 G Τίς ἡ οὐσία τῶν πλανητῶν καὶ ἀπλανῶν
 P Τίς ἡ οὐσία τῶν ἄστρον πλανητῶν καὶ ἀπλανῶν, καὶ πῶς συνέστη
 Q Was ist die Substanz der Sterne?
 S [Περὶ οὐσίας ἄστρον]
 *Diels follows E, Mau and Lachenaud P
- 3.16 pap Περὶ θαλάσσης (?)
 E Περὶ θαλάσσης, πῶς συνέστη καὶ πῶς ἐστὶ πικρά
 G Περὶ θαλάσσης διὰ τί ἄλμυρά ἐστιν
 P Περὶ θαλάσσης, πῶς συνέστη καὶ πῶς ἐστὶ πικρά
 Q Über das Meer, wie sein Zustand ist und auf welche Weise es bitter ist
 S [Περὶ θαλάσσης (according to Photius)]
 *all three editors opt for P, as supported by E Q
- 4.5 E Περὶ ἡγεμονικοῦ
 P Τί τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ ἐν τίνι ἐστὶν
 Q Über den leitenden Teil unter den Seelenteilen
 *Diels Περὶ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ (≈ E), Mau and Lachenaud follow P

¹⁹¹ The remarks on the indirect tradition (if we may call it such) on p. 6 are woefully inadequate. The contents of the *apparatus testimoniorum* is a strange mixture, and is nowhere explained; cf. also above n. 37.

- 4.23 pap Περὶ παθῶν σωματικῶν
 G Περὶ παθῶν
 Q Über die körperlichen Affektionen und ob die Seele
 durch sie Schmerz empfindet
 S [Περὶ παθῶν]
 P Περὶ παθῶν σωματικῶν καὶ εἰ συναλγεῖ τούτοις ἡ ψυχὴ
 *all three editors retain P.

In these examples we can see how Mau and Lachenaud in all cases retain the reading of P, whether it is supported by the indirect tradition or not,¹⁹² whereas Diels vacillates, sometimes retaining P, sometimes being influenced by the other witnesses (especially E) and using a shorter title. Clearly there is room for much variation on the part of both adaptors and scribes. On the whole one would expect titles to be shortened rather than lengthened by both categories. This would give support to the policy of Mau. On the other hand it is easy for a scribe to add a gloss to a title based on a quick perusal of the chapter's contents. Moreover we have seen that already in the earliest witness, the papyri, shorter titles were used. The question might seem academic, were it not for the fact that these titles are an important source of information. We shall later see that they can tell us much about the original derivation of the *Placita* from questions posed in the application of Aristotle's dialectical method.¹⁹³

As these examples show (again) in a rather extreme way, the doxographical tradition, as exemplified in P, but also elsewhere, is not stable or fixed, but much rather fluid and subject to changes introduced at every step by both users (the indirect tradition) and scribes (and translators). In this situation it may in fact prove impossible to reach a text that does justice to the entire tradition. From this viewpoint the conservative policy of Mau and Lachenaud certainly has some merit. Where they fail, in our view, is that they do not diligently record all significant variants of the entire tradition, both direct and indirect, so that P's tradition in all its diversity is at least present in the edition, even if it is impossible to place it all in the text. No less may be expected from a truly critical text. From this point of view the edition of Diels, though more than a century older, is actually superior.

¹⁹² The variants are not recorded in their *apparatus*.

¹⁹³ See Mansfeld (1992a), and further discussion in a subsequent volume.

10. *Ps.Plutarch's method*

In order to discover the method of ps.Plutarch, particularly in relation to his anterior source A, we have to ascertain what kind of a book he has produced. There can be little doubt that the compendium of ps.Plutarch is an *Epitome*. The word does not occur as such in the title of the work at the beginning of the mss., where we apparently read *Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις φυσικῶν δογμάτων βίβλια ε΄*.¹⁹⁴ But in the headings of three of the remaining books the term is used:¹⁹⁵

Book II: *Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις φυσικῶν δογμάτων ἐπιτομῆς τὸ β΄*

Book III: *Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων φιλοσόφοις φυσικῶν δογμάτων ἐν ἐπιτομῇ τὸ γ΄*

Book V: *Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων φιλοσόφοις φυσικῶν δογμάτων ἐν ἐπιτομῇ τὸ ε΄*.

Moreover in the text the author himself gives us another clue at the beginning of Book III, when he declares (892E): *Περιωδευκῶς ἐν τοῖς προτέροις ἐν ἐπιτομῇ τὸν περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων λόγον, σελήνην δ' αὐτῶν τὸ μεθόριον, τρέψομαι ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ πρὸς τὰ μετάρσια...*¹⁹⁶ The work is described as *Epitome* in the Catalogue of Lamprias,¹⁹⁷ echoing the title of book II, and the description is also used by Theodoret.¹⁹⁸

What, however, are we to understand under the term *ἐπιτομή* and the expression *ἐν ἐπιτομῇ*? The word means 'summary', 'abridgement', 'condensed book'.¹⁹⁹ Ancient usage is fluid and not easy to categorize. Naturally the term can refer to any kind of summary in the form of notes, but most often it refers to a completed product in the form of a book or 'cahier'. Two broadly defined kinds of epitome can be distinguished.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁴ We assume the title is taken from ms. M, but the *apparatuses* of the editors are not entirely clear on this point: cf. Diels 273, Mau 50, Lachenaud 68.

¹⁹⁵ In his study on ancient *epitomai* Bott (1920) 9 argues against Diels that the term *ἐπιτομή* is not in the title, but he does not notice the evidence in the title of book II.

¹⁹⁶ P 3 pref., 99.23-25 Mau.

¹⁹⁷ See above p. 122.

¹⁹⁸ See above p. 168.

¹⁹⁹ On the *epitome* see Birt (1882) 383, Bott (1920), Opelt (1962) 944-73 (the most recent comprehensive account, but far from satisfactory), and for a concrete example by Lactantius Perrin (1987) 20-36.

²⁰⁰ Cf. esp. Opelt (1962) 945, who takes the distinction over from Bott.

(i) The *abridgement* of an existing work (*epitoma auctoris*). The first *epitomai* in the 4th cent. BCE are summaries of earlier writings.²⁰¹ Theophrastus wrote a summary of Plato's *Republic* in two books,²⁰² a summary of his own *Analytics* in one book and of his *Physics* in two books. Epicurus produced a long and a short summary (= the *Letter to Herodotus*) of his *Physics* in 37 books (Diog. Laert. 10.39, 85). This practice of producing shortened versions of longer works is enormously common. As we have seen in the philosophical examples given, they can be produced by another writer or by the author himself. Galen says at the beginning of his *epitome* Σύνοψις περὶ σφυγμῶν ἰδίας πραγματείας (*Summary of his own work on pulses*) that he prefers students of his work to make summaries for themselves, but since he has seen others making a hash of it, he decided to make one himself.²⁰³ Detailed analysis of Lactantius' *Epitome* of his own *Institutiones divinae* has shown that the author takes considerable liberties with his own text, adapting the abridged account to the new context and making various revisions.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ List of 160 examples of both kinds of *epitome* in Opelt; philosophical examples at 950–2 far from complete, e.g. the *Didaskalikos* of Alcinous and Galen's summaries of the Platonic dialogues are not mentioned. Opelt does not just collect works with the term *epitome* in the title, but all works of this character (e.g. with the titles σύνοψις, συναγωγαί, τὰ ἐκ τῶν κτλ).

²⁰² It is disputed whether this work, listed at Diog. Laert. 5.43 is identical with a work entitled Τὰ ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας in three books found in the Aristotelian list at 5.22. No work of Aristotle containing the term *epitome* in the title is found in this list. We note, however, that Simplicius regards the work Τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Τιμαίου at 5.25 as an *epitome*; cf. in *De Caelo* 379.15 Heiberg, = Arist. fr. 206 Rose, fr. 153–154 Gigon.

²⁰³ 9.432–3 Kühn. The opening part of this work is most valuable on the terminology and practice of making *epitomai*. Cf. also Perrin (1987) 21 on Lactantius: 'L'auteur s'abrège lui-même pour ne pas l'être par un autre'. In a well-known passage, in *Hipp. de nat. hom.* 15.22 Mewaldt (text at Diels *DG* 481) Galen invites his reader if he wants to know the opinion (δόξα) of Xenophanes to look ἐν ταῖς τῶν φυσικῶν δοξῶν ἐπιτομαίς. What he means is that the Φυσικαὶ δόξαι of Theophrastus provide summaries of the doctrines of the Presocratics (on this work see further Mansfeld (1992a) 64, amplified at (1993) 360). One might argue that we need a separate category for this use of the term *epitome*, i.e. as a summary of the thought or doctrine of an author. But note that the term is Galen's, not in the title of the work. We might compare his usage at *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.* 3.5.21, 5.5.32, 5.6.30. But it is striking that in each case he qualifies with οἶον or ὥσπερ. In our view a separate category would only confuse the issue.

²⁰⁴ Perrin (1987) 25–36, largely based on research by Brandt (1892, *non vidimus*) and Dammig (1957). The *epitome* that we have of Plutarch's *De procreatione animi* is not by the author, and is more like an excerpt than an

(ii) The *summary presentation* of a subject (*epitoma rei tractatae*). In time out of the first category there developed another kind of work, in which a brief summary or handbook treatment was given of a particular subject matter. An early example was the Ἐπιτομή μυθική of Phylarchus of Athens (3rd century BC), another the still preserved Ἐπιδρομή (or Ἐπιτομή) τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικῶν θεολογίαν παραδεδομένων of Cornutus.²⁰⁵ Philosophical examples close to hand are (i) the compendium of Arius Didymus, which is called an *Epitome* both by Eusebius and by Stobaeus,²⁰⁶ and (ii) the work by Alcinous, which is given the title Διδασκαλικὸς τῶν Πλάτωνος δογμάτων, but in the colophon is called Ἐπιτομή τῶν Πλάτωνος δογμάτων.²⁰⁷

Under which category, then, is P to be placed? The titles and the statement in the preface to book III certainly point to the latter. P is a summary presentation of viewpoints of philosophers on physical questions.²⁰⁸ There is, however, a complicating factor. Because we have the evidence of S, we know that P is a reduced, i.e. epitomized, version of A. So it is in fact an *epitome* in a double sense. As we now examine the method used by P in compiling this shortened version, it will be methodologically sound not only to examine his procedure as it emerges in the various aspects of his work, but also to bear in mind the more general characteristics of *epitomai* as we know them from other preserved examples.

(a) *Macro-structure*

P's *Epitome* is divided into 5 books, each with a short preface (except the last), and 30, 32, 18, 23 and 30 chapters respectively. A

epitome in the proper sense, as noted by Cherniss (1976b) 348.

²⁰⁵ Opelt nos. 109, 63 respectively.

²⁰⁶ Eusebius *PE* 15.15.1, 15.15.9, 15.20.8 Mras, Stobaeus *Flor.* 2.103.28, 5.918.15 Hense (the only time he refers to it explicitly). The exact title of the work is unclear (see further below p. 242ff.), but its *epitome* character is unmistakable.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Whittaker-Louis (1990) xiii: 'le titre Ἐπιτομή... correspond nettement au caractère de l'ouvrage, pourvu qu'on ne voie pas dans le terme Ἐπιτομή un indice qu'il ne s'agisse que d'un résumé d'un ouvrage plus long.'

²⁰⁸ *Epitomai* on physics at Opelt nos. 49 (Theophrastus), 50–52 (Epicurus), 56 (Diogenes of Oenoanda), 68 (of Manetho). Diels' title for Arius Didymus' work on physical *doxai*, Ἐπιτομή φυσικῶν, is no more than a guess. Opelt's description for our treatise (no. 66) is way off the mark: 'PsPlutarch v. Chaeronea. Erhaltene Περί τῶν ἀρεσκόντων φυσικῶν δογμάτων ἐπιτομή in 5 B. zu des Plutarch verlorener gleichnamiger Schrift'. P is not an *epitome* of a work of Plutarch.

list (πίναξ) of chapter-headings (κεφάλαια) is placed at the beginning of each book.²⁰⁹ Absolutely crucial for Diels' reconstruction of A is his assertion that 'the *Epitome* of Plutarch preserved the true appearance of Aetius but reduced in a much narrower form'.²¹⁰ His evidence lies primarily in the parallel chapter-headings in S. His claim that of P's 130 chapters (excluding the introductory chapters) all but 12 were found in S is rather exaggerated, as we shall later see.²¹¹ Nevertheless it is certainly true that many of these headings do return there. Perhaps the division into books gives an extra argument. The books in their current state are very short (almost exactly 20 pages of Teubner text). If the original work was twice the length (we shall return to this question of the extent of reduction), then the books would have been 40 pages, which represents a more normal length.²¹² Moreover it is obvious that the books as divided in P mark out clear divisions of content (book I *principia*, book II cosmos and *caelestia*, book III *meteorologica* and *terrestria*, book IV soul part 1, book V soul part 2 and remaining living beings).²¹³ The easiest course of action for the epitomator would have been to preserve the book-division as it stood, and this is doubtless what he did.²¹⁴

²⁰⁹ Not all mss. contain them, and they are not found in Q. Diels did not include them in his text, but Mau and Lachenaud rightly retain. On such lists of chapter-titles, familiar from later Christian works such as Eusebius' *PE* see Regenbogen (1950) 1472–5, Saffrey-Westerink (1968–87) 1.129, Mansfeld (1994b) 22.

²¹⁰ *DG* 61: 'omnino igitur... Plutarchi epitome veram Aëtii imaginem reddit sed in angustiore multo formam redactam.'

²¹¹ See our analysis below, Ch. 4, p. 217.

²¹² It has been estimated in an admittedly very rough fashion that a conveniently sized bookroll would be about 50–60 pages of OCT text (our calculation, based on the example of Plato's *Symposium* used at Schubart (1921) 53). The books of the *Republic* are shorter. But by any standards 20 pages is very short.

²¹³ The principle of division between books IV and V is less easy to pin down. We note that Book V is the only book without its own preface, i.e. the subject matter continues straight through.

²¹⁴ If A is dated to 50–100 CE, then it almost certainly was written on rolls, since literary codices start to be used just before 100 CE (cf. Van Haelst (1989) 20ff.). If P is dated to 150–200, then it may have been written on a codex, since the trend was well under way, and the less literary the work, the more likely it would use the more utilitarian method. This method of production would encourage the preservation of the original book-division, even though the resultant books were too short for average-sized rolls. We note that G as an *epitome* of an *epitome* abandons any book divisions. It could easily fit on a single roll (but if it is late, codices may have taken over).

What then about the individual chapters? Without comparative material the answer to this question would be pure speculation. Fortunately the titles preserved by S give some clues.²¹⁵ Diels argued that in a few cases chapters were omitted (*DG* 62):

- 1.11 from the contents of S 1.13 one can deduce a chapter *Περὶ τοῦ πρώτου αἰτίου*.
- 1.15 from the contents of S 1.16 one can deduce a chapter on whether colours exist *φύσει*.
- 2.4 the title of 1.21 in S suggests a chapter *Ποῦ ἔχει τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ὁ κόσμος*.
- 3.9 the title at S 1.33 (preserved in Photius) suggests a missing chapter on the size of the earth parallel to 2.21, 26.

Of these suggestions only the third is attractive.²¹⁶ Diels has failed to observe that A often introduces a different aspect of the main subject towards the end of a chapter. This is doubtless the case in P's 1.11 and 1.15, so no new chapters need be postulated. The fourth case is plausible, but we cannot be sure for the simple reason that S preserves only the title and not the lemmata. A closer examination of both P and S indicates that there may have been a few more chapters deleted or coalesced by P:

- 2.2 various stray lemmata in S and T suggest a chapter *Περὶ κινήσεως κόσμου*.²¹⁷
- 2.23 it is possible that a stray *doxa* in S may indicate a chapter *Περὶ κινήσεως ἡλίου*.²¹⁸
- 4.5 the *doxai* on the *νοῦς* at S I 48.7 do not appear to fit in 4.5 and probably represent a separate chapter *περὶ νοῦ*.²¹⁹
- 5.30 one may suspect that two chapters *Περὶ ὑγείας* and *Περὶ γήρως* have been combined.

In the last case, of course, it may well have been A who was responsible for the combination.²²⁰ We have no way of telling.

In terms of the macro-structure of the work, we may conclude, Diels' confidence in P is justified. It is reasonable to assume that

²¹⁵ But see further below, Ch. 4, p. 267ff., and especially the problem of contamination discussed there.

²¹⁶ Taken over in our reconstruction to be published in vol. II.

²¹⁷ See our reconstruction *ibid*.

²¹⁸ In our analysis we shall reject this possibility.

²¹⁹ Various suggestions are made at Mansfeld (1990a) 3092. At 3191 he has doubts about the original unity of P 4.9. And will there not have originally been a chapter on touch (cf. S 1.56)?

²²⁰ Cf. G, who has two chapters, §132 *Περὶ νόσων*, and §133 *Περὶ γήρως*. As noted above n. 78, G may thus have split up what P combined, since there is no evidence that he had access to A.

his division into books and chapters gives a faithful picture of the original work, even if not all details can be considered certain. This means that virtually all the deleted material must be located with the chapters themselves.

(b) *The process of abridgement*

How then does P reduce his original? On the basis of examination of *Epitomai* where the original is still extant Opelt concludes:²²¹

Im Vergleich mit ihren Originalen erweisen sich die Epitomai als redaktionell überarbeitete Exzerpte, d. h. es besteht weitgehend wörtliche Übereinstimmung... Die eigene Leistung des Epitomators besteht in seinen redaktionellen Maßnahmen, welche die wörtlichen Exzerpte zu einem Ganzen zusammenfassen und kürzen. Die wesentliche Maßnahme des Epitomators ist also das Streichen und Auslassen ganzer Teile der Vorlage.

When allowance is made for the special character of the *Placita* tradition, this seems to coincide exactly with P's practice. As comparison with S proves, by far the most common method of reduction used by P is the *removal of entire lemmata*. The process can be most easily seen in Diels' double columns, even if his actual reconstructions are not always reliable. We give two examples where it is almost certain that S has simply written out A.

(i) Περὶ ἐκλείψεως σελήνης		
	Stobaeus 1.26.3	ps.Plutarch 2.29
	Anaximander	Anaximander
	Berosus	Berosus
	Alcmaeon-Heraclitus-Antiphon	Heraclitus
	Pythagoreans	Pythagoreans
	Xenophanes	—
	Thales-Anaxagoras-Plato-	Plato-Aristotle-Stoics-
	Stoics-scientists	-scientists
	Anaxagoras	—
	Chrysippus	—

This is the most straightforward case possible. P writes out the first four *doxai*, skips one, includes another, then deletes the last two. The lemmata are retained in full, but some changes are made to the name labels, notably in P's third and fifth lemmata. On these see further below.

²²¹ Opelt (1962) 960–1. What she later says about 'Umgruppierung' does not apply to P.

(ii) Περί βροντῶν ἀστραπῶν κεραυνῶν πρηστήρων τε καὶ τυφῶνων

Stobaeus 1.29	ps.Plutarch 3.3
Anaximander	Anaximander
Anaximenes	—
Metrodorus	Metrodorus
Anaxagoras	Anaxagoras
Archelaus	—
Xenophanes	—
Empedocles	—
Diogenes	—
Heraclitus	—
Leucippus	—
Democritus	—
Chrysippus	Stoics
Aristotle	Aristotle
Strato	—
Stoics	—

This example is more complex. P reduces his source drastically retaining only 5 of the 15 lemmata. At one point not less than 7 *doxai* are simply skipped. The lemmata that are retained are written out in full, except that the two lemmata of Aristotle and Strato are coalesced together and given the single name-label Aristotle. More about this careless procedure below. The problem is caused by the placement of the Stoic lemma in P. In S it occurs at the end. It is plausible to assume that S has simply written out his source here. At least one can think of no motivation for him to change it. This would mean that P has altered the order. One may assume that P jumped from Anaxagoras to the lemmata at the end, stopped at Chrysippus but decided to replace it with the shorter but very similar Stoic lemma located at the end of the chapter, then concluded the chapter with the Aristotelian lemma. If this is the case, then we can see how Diels is captive of his own method here. Because he accepts the order of P as canonical, he changes the order in S, even though it is more likely that on this occasion P made the change.

Despite this example, it occurs rather seldom that P intervenes in the order of the lemmata as they occurred in A. Usually he is content to make straight excisions.

A second method, also consistent with the observations of Opelt, is to reduce a single lemma in size. In this case what he nearly always does is to copy out the beginning, and then leave out the remainder. Examples are legion: cf. the lemma of Plato in 1.7, Empedocles in 1.15, Pythagoreans in 1.18 (where he makes a bad mistake), Parmenides in 2.7, Aristotle in 1.23, 3.1, 3.2 etc. Not surprisingly these are rather often lemmata whose length exceeds

what is usual in the *Placita*.²²² Examples where he leaves out a section in the middle are very rare. We have found only 1.29.2 (really two lemmata), 2.13.4 (an interesting case where he connects up two *doxai* with the same name-label). What is important to note is that P never takes the trouble to paraphrase a longer text in his own words; he either transcribes or excises.²²³

If then most of the epitomization is achieved through the deletion of entire lemmata, what are P's criteria in making his selection? Here analysis of his chapters reveals that he uses two principles in particular.

(i) The epitomator shows a clear preference for the better known names in the annals of Greek philosophy. These are certain of the Presocratics (Thales, Anaximander, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, Anaxagoras; less popular are Anaximenes, Heraclitus, Diogenes, while the Eleatics are quite out of favour), and the mainstream Classical and Hellenistic schools represented by the founders (Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus) or by the school name in the case of the Stoics. For some reason he is also rather keen on the lesser Presocratics Alcmaeon and Metrodorus. It is possible to show this statistically by comparing the number of named lemmata in P with those in S and T, even though the evidence of S and T only covers part of the entire work. It is apparent, therefore, that if, for a given philosopher, P contains most of the references also found in S or T, then he has chosen not to excise lemmata referring to that thinker. Conversely, if P does not contain names that S and T do record, then he must have found those philosophers of lesser importance for his purpose of epitomization. The following figures indicate how the name-labels in P compare with the total in P S and T for the philosophers cited above:²²⁴

²²² Note that some of the long lemmata that Diels assigns to A are misleading. In all likelihood they have been coalesced with excerpts from Arius Didymus; see further below, Ch. 4, p. 249ff.

²²³ On only seven occasions does P give a longer text than S: 1.7.7 (881F), 1.17.4, 1.23.6, 2.1.7, 2.7.5, 3.17.6, 5.30.1. Most of these examples have to do with S's methods of deletion (very clear in 1.7.7, 2.7.5, where A is curtailed and replaced by AD; see below p. 248), but in one or two cases P may have added some explicatory phrases of his own, e.g. at 1.23.6, 3.17.6 (as suspected by Diels).

²²⁴ For three reasons these figures are rather inexact: (1) they are based on Diels' reconstruction; (2) much of S is lacking, and T is very incomplete; (3) they cannot avoid the complication that P alters many name-labels, as we shall soon see. Nevertheless the figures can give a useful impression.

Presocratics: Thales 20 out of 26; Anaximander 16/23; Pythagoras 35/43; Empedocles 45/62; Democritus 38/69; Anaxagoras 28/44; Anaximenes 16/23; Heraclitus 17/28; Diogenes 13/24; Parmenides 12/31; Melissus 1/7; Alcmaeon 10/15; Metrodorus 15/22.

School founders/schools: Plato 64/69; Aristotle 46/64; Epicurus 36/45; Stoics 58/70.

The relative variation in inclusion and exclusion is clear. The corollary is that P is not so keen on philosophers who are less prominent in the philosophical tradition. Again we can give some figures, but here we must bear in mind that the numbers involved are smaller (for this reason we exclude the medical writers who occur mainly in books IV and V, for which we have insufficient evidence).

Presocratics: Antiphon 2/4; Archelaus 1/8; Hippasus 1/3; Leucippus 7/21; Philolaus 4/8; Xenophanes 8/18.

Later philosophers (or scientists): Aristarchus 1/5; Critolaus 0/2; Dicaearchus 2/3; Diodorus Cronus 0/2; Ecphantus 0/3; Eratosthenes 2/2; Heraclides Ponticus 6/9; Hestiaeus 0/2; Oenipides 2/3; Speusippus 0/1; Strato 6/15; Theophrastus 1/3; Xenocrates 1/8.

It is noticeable how the epigonoι Speusippus, Xenocrates, Theophrastus and Strato, who occur rather infrequently in the *Placita*, are even further reduced in P. The Stoa forms an exception. Here the name of the school supplants individual members:

Stoics 58/70; Zeno Stoicus 5/12; Apollophanes 0/1²²⁵; Cleanthes 2/7; Sphaerus 0/1; Chrysippus 3/8; Diogenes Stoicus 0/1; Archedemus 0/1; Boethus 1/3; Posidonius 3/9.²²⁶

The most flagrant example of P's 'favoritism' is found in the chapter τίς ὁ θεός (1.7). After writing out the initial discussion, which has a polemical style quite foreign to what is normally found in the *Placita*,²²⁷ he then cuts drastically in the remainder of the chapter. Of the 23 lemmata which S preserves only 8 are retained, namely Thales, Anaximander, Democritus, Pythagoras, Socrates-Plato, Stoics, Epicurus. Names skipped such as Anaximenes,

²²⁵ Based on Photius' index; cf. Wachsmuth *ad* Stob. 1.49.7^a.

²²⁶ In four cases it seems that P converts the name of a particular Stoic to the generic name of the school: 1.18.4, 2.20.3, 2.25.3, 4.15.1 (on the last text see Diels (1881) 350 and below p. 267). In the first three texts, however, it is perhaps possible that the individual name-label was due to the intervention of S; see further below, Ch. 4, p. 255f. on the virtually insoluble problem of disentangling A and Arius Didymus in S 1.25 & 26.

²²⁷ We assume that it originally stood in A.

Posidonius, Speusippus, Parmenides, Xenocrates are clearly in P's view the lesser lights of Greek philosophy.

(ii) The second principle is less influential and less easy to discern, yet needs to be emphasized since it is related to an important feature of A. As we shall later observe in more detail, A generally deals with his subjects either by setting up basic oppositions between contrasting points of view (διαφωνία) or by presenting various options in a long division (διαίρεσις). Interestingly the epitomator has some feeling for this structure, and on the whole prefers to let it stand, although needless to say there are numerous examples when he does not do so. The two chapters on time in Book I will serve as an example. In 1.21 Περί χρόνου, there are three lemmata A B C, where A and B are distinct positions, and C is a qualification of B. P retains all three, including C, even though it represents Eratosthenes, who is not a mainstream figure. In the next chapter Περί οὐσίας χρόνου P is more ruthless and reduces the original 9 lemmata (if S is complete) to 4. By starting off with Plato and then jumping to the Stoics a neat contrast is made between 2 positions on the nature of time (i.e. a διαφωνία); then the last two lemmata are retained which give a second διαφωνία on whether time is γενητός or not. So in fact P reduces a διαίρεσις and a διαφωνία in A to 2 διαφωνία. In the case of a long diairesis, however, such as in 3.3 (set out above) P can see no organizing principle and appears to flounder somewhat. He merely selects representative opinions associated with certain names (2 Pre-socratics, the favoured Metrodorus, with the Stoics and Aristotle representing two post-Socratic schools).

It will be observed that these two principles of epitomization that we have outlined can easily come into conflict. Selecting on the basis of systematic organization may mean that P may have to take over obscure names if these happen to represent important positions, as occurred in the case of Eratosthenes in 1.21. On the other hand mainstream names may be attached to doctrines that add little to other views and should be candidates for excision. A nice example is found at 2.29, the chapter on the illumination of the moon, where P decides that the 2nd and 3rd lemmata on the views of Aristotle and the Stoa respectively add little to the first view of Anaximander, so contrary to his usual habit he leaves these important name-labels out.

(c) *Name-labels*

A further method of reduction of the original has yet to be mentioned. P regularly reduces the number of name-labels attached to a single lemma in A. A striking example can be observed in 2.1.2, where the list of 11 names was cut back to Θαλῆς καὶ οἱ ἄπ' αὐτοῦ; cf. also 1.24.2, 2.28.3, 2.29.3, 4.3.2, 4.14.2–3. Chapter 4.9 on the verity of perception is an interesting case. P cuts ruthlessly, preserving, it would seem, only 3 out of 20 lemmata. The first lemma in S, with 11 names, is deleted; another long list of 6 names a little later is reduced to 2. P prefers the simplicity of one or two names per lemma. This naturally reduces the riches of the *Placita*'s testimony, but in a sense shows a sound instinct, since we shall see that for the method of the *Placita* the name-labels are always of secondary importance.

Another aspect of the original source that falls prey to P's knife are the references that A occasionally attaches to his name-labels. There are 15 examples of these in A, of which only 6 are retained in P (the rest we know via S). Thus at 2.29.4 the name-label in P reads τῶν Πυθαγορείων τινές, but in S we read the fuller τῶν Πυθαγορείων τινές κατὰ τὴν Ἀριστοτέλειον ἱστορίαν καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ Ὀπουντίου ἀπόφασιν.²²⁸ There may well have originally been quite a few more of such references in those parts of A for which we now have only P.

(d) *Coalescence*

So far it would seem that P is following a method of epitomization which has a reasonable legitimacy. But there remains another technique which is far more dubious. On at least a dozen occasions P coalesces two lemmata in order to form a single unit.²²⁹

- 1.7.4 The views of Democritus and Diogenes-Cleanthes-Oenipides combined in one lemma.
- 1.9.4 Plato and Aristotle combined in one lemma, as (probably) revealed by T (but other explanations are possible).
- 1.11.3 Plato and Pythagoras joined together.

²²⁸ Full list of such references in A given by Runia (1992a) 122–3, where no. 15 should be excised in the light of our remarks above on 5.20.1 (p. 178).

²²⁹ Most examples listed and sharply criticized by Diels *DG* 64. The ex. from 2.20 is due not to P's but to S's method of coalescence, which in this case splits up lemmata.

- 1.20.1 The *doxai* of the Stoics and Epicurus combined (Diels calls the *doxai consimiles*, but that is not the case if by ὀνόμασιν A means 'by name only'; cf. the text at Sext. Emp. *Adv. Phys.* 4.2, which illuminates the διαφωνία in this chapter).
- 1.29.2 The two consecutive Aristotelian lemmata, probably derived from different sources by A, are here—quite legitimately this time—combined.
- 2.4.1 The first lemma probably joins together three lemmata in A; see our analysis in vol. II.
- 2.11.3 Three lemmata are conflated in an messy farrago. If P, and not the scribal tradition, was responsible, then he has changed the order. See our analysis in vol. II.
- 2.13.4 Two lemmata of Diogenes have been legitimately coalesced.
- 2.20.2 P has legitimately conflated two Xenophanean *doxai*; see the analysis in Runia (1992a) 133–5 and further in vol. II.
- 3.3.5 The *doxai* of Aristotle and Strato have been combined in one lemma. Perhaps P felt justified because they are both Peripatetics.
- 4.13.1 Atomist and Academic *doxai* combined (the text in S at 1.52.1 is contaminated from P, as will be discussed below, p. 267).
- 4.13.2 Comparison with S reveals that P has joined the name-label Empedocles to the following *doxa* of Hestiaeus (see analysis below, p. 228f.).

In three cases the coalescence is permissible, since the name-label is the same. It is possible that the state of the mss. is to blame for one or two other cases. But P cannot be absolved from them all. Carelessness is to blame. In each case we can only trace P's intervention because we have access to A via S or T. One must suspect that quite a few more cases are concealed within chapters for which P supplies our only evidence.

(e) *Order of lemmata.*

In his double columns Diels slavishly follows the order of the lemmata as preserved in P. As a principle this is sound, for it takes into account the basic method of ancient epitomization and agrees for the most part with P's actual practice. It cannot, however, be assumed on *a priori* grounds that P *always* retains A's order of lemmata. In our detailed analysis of Book II it will emerge that certain problems in the reconstruction are best solved by postulating that P made slight changes in the order.²³⁰

²³⁰ E. g. at 2.4, 2.23, 2.27 (detailed analysis will follow in vol. II). Cf. also our analysis of 3.3 given above on p. 188.

(f) *Extent of epitomization*

What then is the extent of P's abridgement? An answer can only be given if and when the crucial evidence of S and T is taken into account. In her study of the phenomenon Opelt uses the admittedly inexact method of counting books to get some indication. She calculates that the maximum reduction was to a tenth of the original, the minimum to about a half, the average to between a fifth and a third.²³¹ One wonders whether even this imprecise result is at all helpful. After all every *epitome* is a different case with different requirements on account of its *Sitz im Leben*. It is clear, however, that P is much closer to the minimum (50%) than the maximum (10%). One must suspect that he reduced by no more than half, probably less. The only evidence we have that is any use is book II, which, as we shall see, S preserved almost completely. Anticipating the result of our reconstruction, we can say that he preserved about 150 of the sum total of 214 lemmata for which we have evidence.²³² Some, but not very many lemmata have been shortened. A character count also suggests a ratio of 2 to 3 between P and A.²³³ If this result is representative, then the extent of the abridging is slight indeed. But this conclusion is surely what we would expect. There are clear limits in the extent to which a collection of atomistic *doxai* such as we must suspect A to have been could be compressed, if the *epitome* was to be of the work as a whole, and not just a sequence of excerpts.²³⁴

(g) *Some conclusions on the epitomator's method*

In the process of making an *epitome* loss of material is inevitable. The skill of the epitomator will determine the extent to which the *epitome* manages to preserve the contours of the original. It cannot be said that P did his work of epitomization very well. To be sure, we have discovered some guidelines which he appears to have followed, and he is not entirely the incompetent bungler depicted by Diels. Nevertheless there remains a constant element of arbitrariness which makes any prediction of what he will do next

²³¹ Opelt (1962) 958f. The concrete example of Lactantius has been calculated at one eighth, whereby book I is reduced to a fifth and books II and V are reduced to a tenth, and the remainder in between (Perrin (1987) 25).

²³² Exx. in 2.4, 2.23, 2.27; see further vol. II.

²³³ For book II P = 18766 chars, our provisional reconstruction of A = 26245.

²³⁴ Such as in the case of Plutarch's *De procr. anim.* cited above in n. 204.

quite hazardous. Why copy out the entire section of the rainbow, covering nearly two pages of text, when such an account does not even belong to the style of the *Placita*? Why cut back the second chapter on theology so severely, though it deals with what was traditionally one of the most important subjects of the *Placita*?²³⁵ As we have seen, mistakes are regularly made in the actual process of abridgement. It is a work without any pretension to quality, a typical product of a scholastic environment. Although it is not impossible, as we suggested earlier, that the work was written for private purposes only, it is perhaps more plausible to suggest a school environment, such as explicitly indicated by G at the beginning of his own *epitome*. From this limited beginning the work's circulation increased, whether through 'publication' (i.e. κοινή ἔκδοσις) at some stage or an ever increasing stream of 'private' copies, until it reached the considerable dissemination that we have studied in this chapter.²³⁶

²³⁵ One reason would be that he himself had added the first chapter, 1.6, as Diels surmised. But this is by no means certain.

²³⁶ See text above to n. 14.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SOURCES FOR AËTIUS: JOHANNES STOBÆUS

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1. *The author and his work*

The educational achievements of sons will always be a matter of concern to their fathers. So it was in the case of Johannes of Stobi, generally known as Stobaeus, and thanks to his paternal concern we are fortunate to possess large sections of a huge *Anthology* or collection of excerpts, the largest such work that has come down to us from antiquity. In the 9th century Photius still had access to the entire work. Quoting from the preface (now lost) he tells us that Johannes made the collection (συναγωγή) of borrowings from poets, rhetors and distinguished men of affairs, gathering together

excerpts, sayings and precepts¹ (hence the work's title ἐκλογῶν ἀποφθεγμάτων ὑποθηκῶν βιβλία τέσσαρα), in order to exercise and improve the education of his son Septimius, who apparently showed little inclination towards the appreciation and memorization of his reading material.² We know nothing else about the man. Because the last author he quotes is Themistius and all Christian writers have been rigorously excluded, it has been surmised that he must have been a pagan author.³ But the grounds for such a view must be questioned. It is in our view quite likely that he was a Christian, if only on account of his name.⁴ If we accept the conventional *floruit* of c. 420 CE,⁵ we should note that this makes him an exact contemporary of the two bishops Cyril and Theodoret, of whom the former uses P, as we have just seen, while the latter at least knows about P but more importantly himself makes use of A, as we shall explore in the following chapter.

2. *The textual tradition*

Some time after Photius the manuscript tradition of the enormous work split into two; the first two books came to be known as the *Eclogae physicae et ethicae* (book I Physics, book II Ethics),⁶ the last two books as the *Florilegium*. The task of determining the original form of the work is extremely complex, and depends largely on

¹ On this meaning of ὑποθηκαί (not in *LSJ*) cf. Hesychius s.v.

² Photius *Bibl.* 167, 2.149.14-24 Henry.

³ E.g. Diels *DG* 66, Hense (1916) 2551, Fowden (1987) 197.

⁴ Admittedly the theocentric commencement of the work could be Neoplatonically inspired. It is equally possible that the work had a *praeparatio* character. Johannes' name is of course not very pagan. Of the 102 Johns in *PLRE* and the 54 in *RE* none are explicitly attested as pagans. If Stobaeus did have pagan sympathies, then his name suggests a retro-conversion. Compare the similar case of his near-contemporary Synesius of Cyrene, where scholars have concluded that it is possible that he was a Christian from birth, even though there is hardly a trace of Christianity in his pre-episcopal writings. On the risks of deducing pagan authorship from pagan literary content see further the remarks of Hilhorst (1992), who gives various examples.

⁵ Cf. Hense (1916) 2549.

⁶ Not entirely accurately, since at the beginning of book II there are some chapters devoted to logic (cf. G §§9-15, and above p. 143). The names are in fact arbitrary and have the disadvantage of breaking up the unity of the work. Hense calls the work as a whole the *Anthologion*, and refuses to use the title *Florilegium* for books III & IV; cf. Hense (1916) 2550.

how one interprets the evidence supplied by Photius. A great deal of research on this question was done in the period 1860–1914, notably by the German scholars Meineke, Wachsmuth, Diels, Elter and Hense.⁷ The results were brought together in the five volumes of Wachsmuth and Hense (1884–1912), which not only was the first truly critical edition but has remained the standard text ever since.⁸ Hense's *RE* article of 1916 sums up what had been achieved and brings the period to a close. Since then the research carried out on the Stobaeian anthology has been amazingly scanty, considering how vitally important this work is for our knowledge of lost ancient texts.⁹ Since, apart from a few scraps in Book IV,¹⁰ all the material from Aëtius exploited by Stobaeus is found in the so-called *Eclogae Physicae*, i.e. book I, we shall concentrate our attention on this part of the work.

(a) the manuscripts

The manuscript tradition for the *Eclogae* is much weaker than for the better preserved *Florilegium*. Only three mss. need to be taken into account in the constitution of the text:¹¹

- | | |
|----------|--|
| F | Farnesinus (Naples) III D 15, 14th century |
| P | Parisinus 2129, 15th century |
| L | Laurentianus VIII, no. 22, 14th century. |

Of the first two mss. **F** is of better quality and more complete than **P**. All other extant mss. are directly derived from these two mss.,

⁷ Building, of course, on research done by earlier scholars such as Trincavelliani, Canter, Hugo Grotius, Heeren, Gaisford (on the relevance of some of them for the Aëtius-hypothesis see above Ch. 1, §7). But, as we shall observe below, various editions were not very systematically done, and led to much confusion, which the late 19th century scholars sought to remedy.

⁸ For the *Eclogae* Wachsmuth (1884); for the *Florilegium* Hense (1894–1923), including an improved index for the *Eclogae*, both reprinted together 1958.

⁹ Of any significance are only the contributions by Luria (1929), Di Lello-Finuoli (1967), Campbell (1984), and a summary of the *status quaestionis* at Hahn (1990) 2938–47.

¹⁰ Fragments of A parallel to P 5.30 are found at 4.36.29–31, 874.19–875.12; 4.37.2, 877.9–878.2; 4.50.30, 1032.19–20. The text held in common with P includes material only found in Psellus (cf. above p. 171), but there is one lemma not found in P, which indicates that the source must be A.

¹¹ For the textual tradition see above all Wachsmuth's three great articles of 1871–2, bundled together with corrections and additional comments in (1882). Useful summary of their contents in Diels (1872). See further the *prolegomena* to the edition (1884) l.ix–xxxiii. Wachsmuth dedicated his edition to Usener. On how Usener organized the research see our remarks above at Ch. 1, p. 8ff.; on Wachsmuth himself see Ch. 1, n. 30.

as Wachsmuth was able to show, and so can be ignored for textual purposes. **F** and **P** are derived from a common archetype, which has already been greatly reduced in content compared with the original work still available to Photius.

The third ms. **L** is quite different to the other two. It is not a text of Stobæus at all, but a so-called sacred-profane anthology, combining material from the *Sacra Parallela* of ps.Johannes Damascenus and Stobæus and two other sources.¹² Unfortunately this anthology too is but partially preserved, namely the index to A–M, some chapters from A and a series of chapters from N–Π. The indices and chapter titles allow us to see how Stobæus' anthology (all 4 books) was used. Since it emerges that **L** has retained textual material that is no longer present in the other two mss.¹³, it may be concluded that the archetype of **L** was compiled *before* the complete text of Stobæus was reduced to the proportions preserved in **FP** (probably in the 10th or 11th century).¹⁴ At some stage between the compilation of the archetype of **L** and the transcription of the archetype of **F** and **P** (probably in the 11th or 12th century) an epitome or reduced version of Stobæus' *Eclogae* was produced, probably in Byzantium. Once again the fate of the work is best indicated by means of a (somewhat simplified) stemma which we print on the following page.¹⁵

The editions of Canter (1575), Heeren (1792–1801), Gaisford (1850), Meineke (1860–4),¹⁶ though supplying diverse valuable corrections and conjectures, were based either directly on inferior *apographa* or on a defective understanding of the relationship between the mss. All these earlier efforts were replaced by Wachsmuth's edition of 1884, the first to be based on a correct understanding of the ms. tradition.

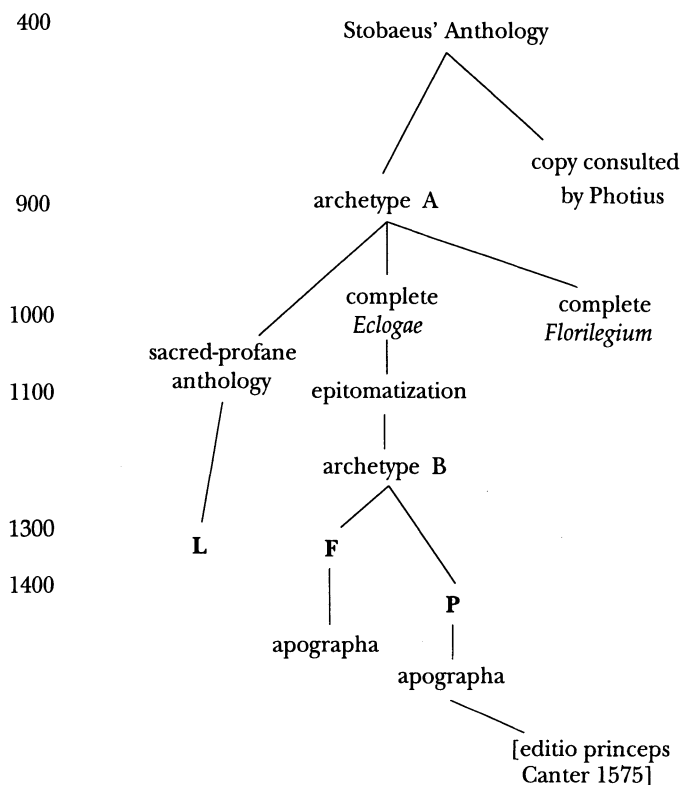
¹² Aelian *De animalibus* and the so-called *Anthology* of Antonius-Maximus (on which note the cautionary remarks of Gutas (1975) 25ff.). On this ms. see Wachsmuth (1882) 1–44, Di Lello-Finuoli (1967). To our knowledge the monograph on the mss. tradition of Stobæus promised by the last-named scholar has not materialized. On Joh. Damasc. see above, Ch. 1, n. 32.

¹³ Listed and analysed by Wachsmuth (1882) 74–78. But on the problem of contamination see below § 8 p. 267ff.

¹⁴ Diels (1872) 191, who points out that the last author referred to in the work is Photius.

¹⁵ Cf. Wachsmuth (1882) 70–71. We concentrate on the *Eclogae*. The *editio princeps* of the *Florilegium* had been published earlier by Trincavelli in 1536; see further above Ch. 1, n. 82.

¹⁶ On these editions and their editors see above Ch. 1, §7-8.



(b) the evidence of Photius

Bishop Photius (± 820–891) devotes a relatively long section of his celebrated *Bibliotheca* to Stobaeus' work (§167).¹⁷ Not only (as we saw) does he furnish us with valuable information on the work's origin, which he no doubt derived from the no longer extant exordium preceding *Eclogae* book I, but his comments also tell us much about its structure and contents as a whole. Indeed the reconstruction of the whole work as found in the edition of Wachsmuth-Hense would hardly have been possible without the Photian notice. The Patriarch terminates his remarks by saying that Stobaeus' collection is useful both for those who have read the original writings and those who have yet to make their acquaintance. Both groups will easily find what they are looking for.¹⁸ We

¹⁷ = 112a-115b Bekker, 2.149-59 Henry.

¹⁸ *Bibl.* 167, 2.159.22-31 Henry. As Henry perceptively remarks (note *ad loc.*), Photius seems to have regarded the work as somewhat similar to his own compilation, which can also be seen as a guide to further reading.

may well ask how can it be said that excerpts are easy to find in a work of such great bulk? The clue here lies in the way that ancient florilegia were compiled and copied.¹⁹ The text is written out continuously, but the divisions of the work, i.e. chapter and lemmata titles, are added in the margin and often emphasized in red ink. Lemmata titles are most often authors' names, usually written in the genitive. Other important names are also sometimes placed *in margine* and/or rubricated. Thus by following these marginal annotations the reader could easily find his way, as Photius says. Nevertheless the industrious Patriarch appears to wish to make such orientation even easier, and thus includes in his summary two important lists.

(i) For each of the 4 books he gives the total number of chapters (κεφάλαια) and a complete list of chapter titles. It is probable that these are taken not from the pages of the work itself but rather from a *pinax* which Stobæus affixed to the beginning of his final copy.²⁰ Because the list is complete, it allows the basic structure of the work to be reconstructed.

(ii) Furthermore Photius gives a long list of authors from whom Stobæus derives his material (i.e. the original source of the δόξαι, χρήσεις, χρῆται κτλ, not the intermediate sources such as Aëtius). The names are divided into five groups—philosophers, poets, rhetors, statesmen, doctors—, of which the first is the longest. The principle on which the list is based was discovered by Elter, who published his results in the year after *DG* appeared.²¹ Photius, or a *pinacographus* in his service, first made preparations by taking sheets of writing material and dividing them into sections according to the letters of the Greek alphabet. He then went through the entire work, collecting names written in the margin and placing

¹⁹ As still partly preserved in the mss.; cf. Diels (1881) 346, Wachsmuth (1884) 1.x, Hense (1916) 2556ff. for further details (the practices are of course not uniform).

²⁰ Cf. Elter (1880) 16, Wachsmuth (1882) 47. On such tables see references given above at p. 185, n. 209 (on P). Note that the correspondence between the list and the titles in the work need not be exact.

²¹ Elter (1880). Some results are included in Wachsmuth's edition. A summary of Elter's results and their relevance to the Aëtius hypothesis is given in Diels (1881), who somewhat grudgingly recognizes their importance but attempts to keep changes to a minimum. On A. Elter (1858–1925) see Bickel-Herter (1926); he was another product of the Bonn school. Predictably his dissertation was dedicated *inter alios* to Usener, whose colleague he became a decade later.

them under the appropriate letter. Each name was mentioned only once, namely the first time that it occurred in the work. It is clear that this list can render only very limited services in the reconstruction of Stobaeus' original text. It can tell us authors of lemmata that have been lost, and sometimes approximately the location where these lemmata must have been.²² But the compiler, it seems, ran out of room under particular letters on a number of occasions, so that the order in Photius' final list is not necessarily reliable (e.g. the names of Hestiaeus and Hecataeus are mixed up among the A's).²³ A significant conclusion to be drawn from this exercise is the importance accredited to name-labels by users of the anthology, a practice that no doubt corresponds to the intentions of its initial compiler, but may not necessarily accord with the original method of the doxographical sources which he has appropriated.

(c) Byzantine abridgement

If then Stobaeus' anthology with all its riches was available to Photius, how did it happen that only a truncated version has reached us? From the mss. tradition it is clear that the *Eclogae* with their somewhat more specialized description of philosophical doctrines were considerably less popular than the more gnomic and sententious *Florilegium*. At a certain point, it would seem, it became too much bother to copy out the entire work. Examination of the mss. **F** and **P** reveals that ¶1-31 appear to be fairly completely preserved (except the exordium and ¶2); thereafter ¶33-35, 37, 44, 46 are missing entirely, while the remainder survive in a severely truncated form (even the copious ¶49 is not complete).²⁴ The remains of Book II are even scantier (only ¶7-9). Much of the material preserved in Wachsmuth's edition of Book I 31-60 and Book II is in fact derived from **L**. When we further examine the epitomized chapters ¶31-60 in Book I, we soon observe that a very one-sided selection has taken place. Only lemmata containing

²² E.g. Elter (1880) 40 and 46 could show that (i) Apollophanes must have been given a lemma on the parts of the soul at 1.49.7a (cf. Wachsmuth *ad loc.*), (ii) Leophanes was present in 1.42.5 (already seen by Diels *DG* 420, not noted by Wachsmuth until in the Addenda at 1.xxxiv).

²³ Cf. Diels (1881) 343f., who criticizes Elter for continually postulating a lacuna in the mss. rather than a mistake on the part of the compiler.

²⁴ See n. 22 on the name-label Apollophanes and further our table below in §5, p. 214ff.

Platonica, Aristotelica, Pythagorica and Hermetica are retained. In various chapters that must have contained copious extracts from Aëtius just one or two lemmata containing the views of Plato and Aristotle are written out (§ 32, 36, 38–39, 42–43, 45, 51–60). Wachsmuth's hypothesis that the work of abridgement was carried out by a pupil of Psellus, who imposed on it the limited interests of Psellus' circle in the 11th century, seems eminently plausible.²⁵

This Byzantine truncation of the Stobæan anthology has consequences for the reconstruction of Aëtius' lost work that are little short of tragic. Although we may be certain that Stobæus used almost the entire work, his evidence for Books III 9-18, IV and V has for the most part disappeared. This means that for these sections of the work our only effective counterweight against P is unavailable, and that any attempt to gain a more exact idea of the original appearance of A's doxography is futile.

(d) Wachsmuth and Diels

Wachsmuth's great edition of the *Eclogae* is more than 100 years old, but is not likely to be replaced in the foreseeable future. We are in fact most fortunate to have had such a competent and conscientious editor.²⁶ Trained in the Bonn school of Jahn and Ritschl and inspired through friendship with his near-contemporary Usener to investigate the sources of the Greek philosophical tradition, he collated the more important manuscripts of Stobæus and other authors during his stay in Italy in 1860–62.²⁷ For the next 20 years he worked systematically at the investigation and publication of this material. From 1870 onwards he stood in regular contact with Diels.²⁸ For his edition published in 1884 he was able to make use of the *Doxographi Graeci* which had appeared five years earlier.²⁹ As we shall see, the results of Diels' analysis

²⁵ Wachsmuth (1884) I.xvi-xvii; cf. Psellus' use of P analysed above at p. 170f.

²⁶ Note the praise from a very exacting critic, viz. Festugière at Festugière-Nock (1946-54) 3.vii.

²⁷ Cf. Müller (1907) 166ff.; cf. also nn. 30 and 92 to Ch. 1.

²⁸ Cf. above p. 29 and 142 on his review of Diels' dissertation. What is written on the common source of G, S and P at (1882) 72f. (originally written in 1871) is most likely based on scholarly contact with Usener or Diels, but the Aëtius hypothesis is not yet indicated (S derives his material 'ex antiquo illo et doctissimo opere probabiliter primo a. Chr. saeculo scripto' (our emphasis). See further the detailed discussion above Ch. 1, §2.

²⁹ The additional comments placed in square brackets in the reprinted

are incorporated in the structure of his edition.³⁰ It is of vital importance to recognize that the critical edition of Stobaeus we have at our disposal *is not a witness to Aëtius independent of Diels' source hypothesis*. On the other hand, it is clear that for Wachsmuth the stakes were far less high. Although originally enthused by the idea of working on philosophical sources, his interests later turned more to the study of ancient history and topography. Being senior to Diels in age and achievement, he was able to regard his friend's work with a measure of detachment, and corrects it at a number of (admittedly fairly minor) points.³¹ Wachsmuth's debt to Diels will become clear when we investigate the sources used by Stobaeus. But first we need to look more closely at the kind of work that Stobaeus produced.

3. *The anthology: its general characteristics*

Stobaeus' huge work is, as already noted above, an anthology or *florilegium*, i.e. a collection of excerpts organized on a grand scale. Such collections have a double background in the ancient world. Firstly we have to take into account the methods of ancient scholarship. The practical difficulties of consulting papyrus rolls—only gradually supplanted by codices—meant that persons with literary and scholarly interests and ambitions set out to make collections of excerpts on specific topics. The elder Pliny, his nephew informs us, used to have books read to him, which he marked and took excerpts from (*adnotabat excerpebatque*); indeed, he made excerpts from every book he read, because, as he would say, no book was so worthless that one could not derive some benefit from it.³² In practical terms this meant that marked

version (1882) of the three articles originally published in 1871 yield valuable insight into how Wachsmuth's researches on Stobaeus were influenced by the studies of Diels and Elter.

³⁰ It is for this reason somewhat strange that Wachsmuth hardly refers to Diels' researches in his 'Prolegomena': the *DG* are mentioned only in passing at 1.xi.

³¹ E.g. at 1.123-4 (on 1.10.12, extracts parallel to P 1.7). For more examples see our discussion of the excerpts from AD below in §6, p. 250, 255.

³² Pliny *Ep.* 3.5.10; we follow the interpretation of Dorandi (1991) 14-5; the equivalent Greek term is ἐπισημειόω, cf. Eus. *DE* 5.11.3. Further studies of the method of excerpting and its importance for our understanding of ancient scientific and philosophical literature at Skydsgaard (1968) 101-16, Hägg (1975), Mejer (1978) 16ff., Dorandi (1993).

passages were copied onto wax tablets (πύκτια, *pugillares*³³), from where they were transferred to collections of notes (ὑπομνήματα, *commentarii*), thus allowing a first sorting out of material. Excerpts differ from notes (*adnotationes*³⁴) in that the latter consist of short remarks or summaries, where as the former tend more to *verbatim* or close to *verbatim* reportage. A work such as Plutarch's *Περὶ Στωικῶν ἐναντιωμάτων* is clearly based on a collection of excerpts, no doubt assembled over a long period of time; hence the large number of *verbatim* quotations it contains, sometimes explicitly introduced by the words κατὰ λέξιν (e.g. 1051E).³⁵ Such collections could assume enormous proportions. Pliny tells us that he inherited 160 volumes from his uncle, who had been offered a large sum of money for them.³⁶ Notebooks could be written up into 'published works', as we see for example in the *Noctes Atticae* Aulus Gellius'.³⁷

Secondly we should note that collections of excerpted material were used as an instrument for educational purposes.³⁸ The bee metaphor implicit in the term ἀνθολόγιον already implies as much: bees cull honey from flowers and store it for future use.³⁹ Not only were anthologies a suitable educational tool; they could also serve as a shortcut to learning, comparable in some respects to

³³ Fine photograph of such a set of wax tablets in Blanchard (1989) 59. A contemporary analogy is the 'notepad' technology recently introduced in electronic devices such as the Apple Newton.

³⁴ We believe the term must mean 'notes' and not 'marks' in a text such as Aulus Gellius, *NA*, *pref.* 3; cf. in Greek ἐπισημειώσεις, e.g. at DL 7.20.

³⁵ This is the theory of Cherniss (1976) 398f., taking a stand against Von Arnim and Pohlenz. Yet it remains possible that Plutarch also used a collection of excerpts which was available to him.

³⁶ *Ep.* 3.5.17.

³⁷ The preface tells us much about this practice, and esp. about the flowery names given to such works. It has long been thought that the three Clementine collections of excerpts—*Stromateis* VIII, *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, *Eclogae propheticæ*—represent the author's notebooks, e.g. Méhat (1966) 34, 517, but Nautin (1976) convincingly argues that *Str.* VIII consists of extracts drawn from completed works made by a later reader.

³⁸ They were also valuable in apologetic contexts, e.g. ps.Phocylides and the *Sentences of Sextus*, but we pass over this aspect here.

³⁹ Cf. Barns (1950–51) 132ff. who points out the double metaphor (garland for pleasure, honey for use) and argues, with reference to Plut. *Mor.* 41F, that a distinction should be made between works for delectation and works for education and moral purpose. For the later he avoids the term *florilegium* as being too non-committal and prefers *gnomologion*. But this term too, as we shall see, does not in every respect cover the contents of a work like Stobaeus' very well. On the use of *gnomologia* in school education see further *ibid.* 3–16.

a Dictionary of quotations today. It was easier to consult such a work than draw on the original material scattered throughout a thousand books. Both motivations are applicable to the anthology we are concerned with. It is a record of Stobaeus' own studies, even if much of the material is drawn at second hand from earlier collections; at the same time, as we learnt from Photius,⁴⁰ it was his fervent desire that the work should serve as an instrument for the education of his son.

It is clear, therefore, that in composing such a work Stobaeus stands in a long tradition of collections of poetic quotes, maxims, sayings, oracles, extracts on particular subjects and so on.⁴¹ The compilation of such works began with the Sophists,⁴² and became widespread in the Hellenistic period. In philosophical circles it received a strong impulse from the Stoic (and esp. Chrysippean) practice of using poetic quotes to bolster and illustrate philosophical argument.⁴³ Papyrus fragments attest to the popularity of such works. A 2nd century BCE papyrus contains excerpts on the subject of *τύχη*, a number of which (both poetry and prose) recur in Stobaeus.⁴⁴ Moreover it has been shown that the correspondence between poetic quotes used by the 2nd century CE Christian author Theophilus of Antioch and those collected together by Stobaeus on the subject of providence and divine judgment is too close to be coincidental.⁴⁵ These two examples show that Stobaeus' enormous work is in part based on, and can also be said to be culmination of, a tradition of accretion that spans more than half a millenium. We note too that such use of *florilegia* traditions in the later ancient world is one of the main reasons why particular quotations—both of poetry and prose—are repeated over and over again.

⁴⁰ See above p. 196.

⁴¹ Research summarized by Horna (1935), Chadwick (1969), Gutas (1975) 9–35; further literature cited at Mansfeld (1992b) 154. Note particularly the decisive contributions of Wachsmuth (1882), Elter (1893–97). For the continuation of *Florilegia* in late Patristic and Byzantine literature (including the ms. L) see further Richard (1964).

⁴² The *Anthology* of Hippias, called *Συναγωγή* (the same title as A's work! see further below p. 323ff.), may be assumed to have played a significant role; cf. Mansfeld (1986a) 4ff. and nn. 9 & 18, with references to earlier literature.

⁴³ Cf. Luria (1929) 96 ff.; but Chadwick (1969) 1135 warns us not to see Chrysippus as initiator of the practice (*contra* Elter). For DL 10.27 on Chrysippus Aristotle Zeno see Mansfeld (1986b) 300.

⁴⁴ Cf. the excellent elucidation of Barns (1950–51).

⁴⁵ Cf. Diels (1875); Zeegers-vander Vorst (1972) 115–31.

Now it should be emphasized that much of Book I, in which virtually all the *Placita* material is found, does not possess the typical traits of the *Gnomologion* or gnomological *Florilegium*.⁴⁶ The subjects that it deals with in the realm of cosmology, meteorology, physiology etc. do not easily lend themselves to the collection of poetic quotes and sententious sayings. Apart from the opening chapters on theology, justice, fate, time etc., only a handful of chapters commence with poetic quotes in the characteristic manner of *Gnomologia* (§10, 15, 51, quotes from Aratus at the end of §25–26).⁴⁷ What Stobæus has done is incorporate the *Placita* into the structure of his Anthology in quite an unusual way—more like in the excerpt-collections noted above (ὑπομνήματα)—, for which there are no antecedents that we know of. Yet also in the case of Book I certain general characteristics of the anthological literature make their presence felt and need to be taken into account in our analysis. We draw attention to the following.⁴⁸

(i) The anthology is organized by chapters according to *subject*, but within the chapters themselves the *names* of authors carry a good deal of weight. When the name of a particular author is affixed to a γνώμη or a δόξα, it is the *original* (i.e. more ancient) author, not the intermediate source, that is given priority. Thus, when Stobæus quotes a saying of the Seven sages from Plutarch, the heading is τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν and the intermediary Plutarch is not mentioned.⁴⁹ Names are attached to excerpts in a rather casual way, and mistaken labelling can very easily occur.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ On the terminology see above n. 39.

⁴⁷ An anthology is not necessarily exactly the same as a *gnomologion*, since it need not contain only characteristic opinions etc. (i.e. γνώμαι). But the terms are often interchanged, and S's collection is often called a *gnomologion* in the scholarly literature.

⁴⁸ On the praxis of the anthologist the best guide is Hense (1916); cf. also Luria (1929) and the summary by Hahm (1990) 2938–43. Chadwick's more general account (see n. 41) devotes little attention to this aspect.

⁴⁹ Examples given by Hense (1916) 2570, who emphasizes that there are exceptions to such suppression, but that in such cases it is often only the first lemma of a series that receives a title. If subsequent lemmata are later copied out separately, then the name of the source becomes lost.

⁵⁰ For example the Anthology might have a quote from Antiphon followed by two from Democritus. The headings of labels would be Ἀντιφῶντος, Δημοκρίτου, τοῦ αὐτοῦ. If the second quote were to fall out, then it would appear that the third quote was from Antiphon. See for example Royse (1991) 32 on various *spuria Philonica* created in this way in the *Florilegia*.

(ii) The creativity of the anthologist lies above all in the process of *selection* and *arrangement* of the material.⁵¹ The excerpts themselves are generally copied out *verbatim*, either from a previous anthology or directly from the author's reading. In a number of cases this can be checked when we still possess the excerpted text. In principle the anthologist does not paraphrase or summarize or abridge the text internally, as an epitomator might do,⁵² nor does he add extensive introductory or connecting remarks in the manner of an Eusebius.

(iii) This is not to say, however, that the anthologist feels any scruples about making alterations to these *verbatim* quotes if it suits his purpose. After all he is often quite ignorant of the original context of his material. As Hense trenchantly affirms:⁵³

Where the opportunity is given to check by means of writers who have been preserved independently, one notices at every turn how few reservations the compilers of *Florilegia* had about adapting the original text to their subject matter and gnomological perspectives by means of omissions, rearrangements and changes of every kind.

Various reasons for such changes can be discerned, e.g. the desire to make the views theologically or morally acceptable, the wish to give the excerpt a neat place in the anthology's arrangement, the desire to produce a well-rounded little cameo, the suppression of individualistic traits that detract from the general sententious character, and so on.⁵⁴ From the viewpoint of the original text one might call this 'interpolation' or 'tampering', but very often such loaded terms misjudge the compiler's aims.⁵⁵

(iv) In general terms one may conclude that the anthologist is keen on *variety*. This is part of the appeal of the *Placita* with its

⁵¹ Cf. Luria (1929) 93: '...obwohl er seine Zitate nicht aus den Originalen, sondern aus älteren Gnomologien sklavisch ausschrieb, war er in der Anordnung der Fragmente ziemlich selbständig.' Cf. also Hense (1916) 2561.

⁵² Contrast the practice of the epitomator P, discussed above at p. 187ff. See also Treadgold (1980) 66–80.

⁵³ Hense (1916) 2583: 'Wo die Kontrolle durch sonst erhaltene Schriftsteller zu Gebote steht, bemerkt man auf Schritt und Tritt, wie wenig die Veranstalter von Florilegien Bedenken trugen, den ursprünglichen Text ihren Themen und gnomologischen Rücksichten durch Auslassungen, Umstellungen, Veränderungen aller Art anzupassen.'

⁵⁴ Cf. Luria (1929) 225ff. (with many examples taken from Stobaeus), Hense (1916) 2582ff.

⁵⁵ See also our remarks at p. 99f. on Diels' terminology.

multitude of difference names and views. It is educational to have a sequence of different views that can be compared to each other. Scholars have pointed out that anthologists like to use the technique of ἀντιλογίαί, whereby opposing views are juxtaposed so that the learner can compare them and hopefully incline to the better.⁵⁶ An example in Book I is the successive chapters 1 and 2 for and against divine providence. But in general Stobaeus reserves the explicit application of this method for ethical subjects involving moral choice. In the excerpts from the *Placita* oppositions abound, but they are not set out methodically.

(v) If a text is taken up in the gnomological literature, even if its wording is preserved fairly much intact, the way it is dealt with is wholly dependent on the function it will perform in its new environment. It would thus be virtually impossible to reconstruct the original on the basis of these extracts alone. In concrete terms, if we had to try to reconstruct A on the basis of what is given in S, it would be a hopeless task.

These traits have been outlined in a quite general and abstract fashion. What they entail in concrete terms will only become clear when we look more closely at Book I of the Anthology itself.

4. *The excerptor's sources*

The briefest glance at the Ἑκλογαὶ φυσικαί reveals that Stobaeus has used a considerable diversity of poetic and prose sources. Frequently excerpted are above all the Platonic corpus and various Pythagorean and Hermetic writings. Less often used are Porphyry, Arrian, Aristoxenus, Iamblichus, Herodotus, Plutarch, ps. Aristotle *De mundo* and a few other authors. All in all the selection corresponds fairly well with what we might expect from an author with Neoplatonist sympathies, except perhaps that no genuine Aristotelian texts are included.⁵⁷ In the case of all these sources Stobaeus indicates the name of the author and generally

⁵⁶ Cf. Diels *DG* 59, Hense (1916) 2559, and Barns (1950-51) 3, who draws attention to Plut. *Mor.* 21D (on how the young man should study poetry): οὐ χεῖρόν ἐστιν ἐτέρων ἐνδόξων ἀποφάσεις ἀντιτάττοντας ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ζυγοῦ ῥέπειν πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον. For the sceptical terminology see above p. 130f. The link between the *Placita* and Gnomological literature here goes back to common roots in the Sophists and Aristotle. But this was doubtless not obvious to Stobaeus.

⁵⁷ See our remarks below at n. 124, where we note that S no doubt thought the *De mundo* sufficient for his purposes.

also the title of the writing in a heading at the beginning of the excerpt. But there is also a significant amount of doxographical and handbook material—in many chapters it is quite dominant—where no source is given at all. This silence is caused by the anthologist's practice, noted above, of indicating the original author of the δόξα, while not naming any intermediate sources. If an adequate account of the book is to be given, therefore, one cannot avoid making an analysis of the sources used by its compiler. Various attempts were made, as we saw, to penetrate this jungle of anonymous excerpts, but the results were rather unsatisfactory.⁵⁸ Diels was the first to offer a reasonably reliable guide.⁵⁹ One need only consult the editions of Heeren and Meineke, and compare them with Wachsmuth to see what an enormous difference his contribution made.⁶⁰ As we already observed above, Wachsmuth imported almost all of Diels' analysis into the framework of his text. The danger here is that the analysis becomes canonical, and that it is no longer recognized how fragile some of the supports on which it rests actually are.

According to Diels, for the untitled doxographical material in Stobaeus *Eclogae* book I one must recognize three main sources.⁶¹

(1) The *Placita* of Aëtius, i.e. material that can be securely identified because it corresponds word for word to P, as well as similar lemmata which, it may be surmised, S preserves but P has epitomized away. These excerpts from A furnish the main bulk of the doxographical material.

(2) Besides A there is, according to Diels, a second major doxographical source, to be identified with the *Epitome* of Arius Didymus, which supplies material on physics for book I, on ethics for

⁵⁸ See above n. 7.

⁵⁹ Volkmann's second analysis (1871) also had considerable merits; see above Ch. 1, §8. It suffers, however, from excessive complexity, because it tries to explain all the discrepancies between S and P-G on the basis of the assumption that S used only a single doxographical source, and that alterations were made by a 'gelehrter Überarbeiter' (704). The procedure can much more easily be explained on the Dielsian assumption that S has combined multiple doxographical sources. Volkmann's mistake stems from an underestimation of the ability of the anthologist to organize and arrange his information.

⁶⁰ E.g. ¶25 (26 in Heeren) on the οὐσία of the sun, where Wachsmuth divides into 9 sub-sections and 19 sub-subsections, of which only one (§6) is unlabelled.

⁶¹ DG 68-99; cf. above Ch. 1, p. 3 (esp. the second move).

book II.⁶² It is possible, he argued, to make a general division on grounds of both style and content between the contributions of A and AD, even if in some cases doubt might remain. This could be carried out by means of the application of no less than 10 criteria through which the two sources could be separated. We shall examine these in some detail a little later on when we analyse Stobæus' method.⁶³ Anticipating our conclusion, we may already say that the presence of a type of doxographical material differing in method and content from that of A is undeniable, even if the grounds given by Diels are not as cut and dried as he suggests, and it is possible, as we shall see, to reassign a number of individual attributions.

(3) The third source is less important. Diels noted the presence of some eight anonymous passages in which lines of Homer are cited and it is affirmed that doctrines of philosophers such as Empedocles and Pythagoras were anticipated by the poet.⁶⁴ He furthermore pointed out that some of these passages correspond almost *verbatim* to extracts from the part of the Pseudo-Plutarchean *De Homero* (and also to Heraclitus Allegoricus) which present Homer as the origin of philosophy.⁶⁵ Since a similar passage parallel to ps.Plutarch at *Flor.* 3.33.16 has the title Πλουτάρχου,⁶⁶ Diels concluded, surely rather arbitrarily, that the common source of Stobæus and *De Homero* was yet another pseudo-

⁶² For our discussion of recent scholarship on this question (and esp. the monograph of Göransson) see the more detailed account below in §6.

⁶³ Also below in §6, p. 245–9.

⁶⁴ *Ecl.* 1.Pref. 2, Pref. 10, 10.6, 10.11ab, 21.4, 22.2, 25.7, 41.10. That 10.11^a should be added to 11b is shown by Mansfeld (1995) 112.

⁶⁵ *De Hom.* 92–160 Kindstrand; note esp. §93, 95, 99–100, 145; parallel columns at *DG* 88ff. Diels, it would seem, was the first to notice these correspondences. The questions of how we should reconstruct the relation between the various sources and whether any genuine work of Plutarch played a role in the tradition have remained controversial; cf. esp. the dissertations of Reinhardt (1910) and Wehrli (1928), Ziegler (1951) 876 ff., and now Hillgruber (1994) 38–50, who argues that not all of these 'Homeric' passages can be regarded as belonging together, and that the source hypothesis of Diels was overly simplistic (see the diagrams on p. 40 and 49).

⁶⁶ Sandbach (1969) fr. 207 doubts its authenticity and does not adduce the further untitled material. It should be noted that the verbal resemblances between S and *De Homero* do not occur in this fragment. So it is quite possible that this fragment has an authentic Plutarchean background, and that the other passages in S are drawn from a source that has nothing to do with Plutarch (but is parallel to ps.Plut. *De Hom.*).

Plutarch.⁶⁷ The attribution is taken over by Wachsmuth in his edition.

Thus far the chief untitled sources used by Stobaeus in Book I. Diels' analysis is convincing in its main argument, but suffers from excessive neatness. There is no reason why an anthologist such as S should confine himself to three such sources. It is eminently possible that he, or his immediate sources, have admixed other material. A source may only be used on a single occasion, as in the case of the fragment on lightning taken from the *Φυσικά* of an otherwise unknown Milon (1.29.3.). There are indeed certain indications that other anonymous doxographic source material has to be taken into account. We briefly give three examples.

(1) S 1.28.1^a on comets is wholly identical with P 3.2, except that the Aristotelian lemma is longer in S, perhaps on account of the addition of material from AD. At §1^b, however, S adds 2 lemmata, the first giving the views of Chaldeans, the second of Democritus on comets. The latter text did not find its way into Diels' VS, and is also missing in Luria's collection.

(2) At 1.10.12, as part of S's chapter on the *archai*, the third and fourth lemmata of Xenocrates and Xenophanes break up the standard sequence Thales-Anaximander-Anaximenes as found in P. Diels retains these lemmata in his reconstruction of A, but moves them to 1.3.23 and 12 respectively. Are they from A but misplaced (a similar view is found in T), or has S imported them from elsewhere, as argued by Volkmann (1871) 690, Elter (1880) 19?⁶⁸

(3) Finally a puzzle in ¶25 on the sun. §7, where Homer is said to represent the view that the sun is not fire, is attributed by Diels and Wachsmuth to (the Homeric) ps.Plutarch. Preceding it, however, is §6, in which Euripides represents the view that the sun *is* fire, based on lines from the *Phoenissae* and the *Phaethon*. On this passage Diels in a note tucked away as a comment on fr. 33 of his collection of Physical Fragments of AD (DG 467) suggested that S drew it from Arius Didymus, who in turn took it from Chrysippus. In Wachsmuth's edition the excerpt is not given a title and not commented on. But surely it is logical to couple the two passages together because they form opposed views on the question εἰ ὁ ἥλιος πῦρ. It is possible that S as compiler brought the two excerpts together. But where then did the Euripidean passage come from? Euripides is mentioned in the *Placita* on various occasions, e.g. at

⁶⁷ Thus, in order to follow Diels' 'Prolegomena', we have to distinguish four ps.Plutarchs: (i) P; (ii) the author of the *De Homero*; (iii) the common source of S and that work; (iv) the author of the *Stromateis* excerpted by Eusebius (DG 156-61, 579-83).

⁶⁸ Further discussion at Mansfeld (1985) 127 n. 64.

P 1.6, 879F, 1.7.1, 880F, 5.19.2 etc. But, as we shall see in vol. II, this lemma cannot be fitted into A's chapter on the nature of the sun.

It cannot be assumed, therefore, that all the doxographical material in Stobæus can be reduced to three sources, and that passages not be assigned to Arius Didymus (or in a few cases ps.Plutarch) must be drawn from A. Nevertheless the extensive parallelism with P guarantees that a very large proportion of it certainly does have A as origin. We may therefore now turn to a more detailed examination of the way Stobæus arranges the copious excerpts that he had at his disposal.

5. *The anthologist's method*

The chief task of the anthologist, as we saw, is to select and arrange his material. In practice, the attitude of the anthologist is a mixture of subservience and freedom. He is subservient to the text of his sources, which he generally writes out more or less *verbatim*. On the other hand, the desire for a lucid and aesthetically pleasing arrangement is strong; so strong in fact that it will often interfere with his subservience to the text. Transitional phrases may need to be introduced, formulations—particularly at the beginning and end of excerpts—modified, connecting particles changed or deleted. The idiosyncracies of the *Placita*, with its sequences of short chapters and even shorter discrete lemmata, meant that the possibilities of rearrangement were as great as the anthologist could wish. If we are going to be able to reconstruct the original appearance of Aëtius, it is essential that we understand *very exactly* the method that Stobæus used both in appropriating it and in arranging the resultant excerpts. Some techniques were noted by Diels, but in a rather haphazard way.⁶⁹ A more detailed analysis will lead us to a discovery—overlooked by Diels—which will be of the utmost importance for our reconstruction of the original Aëtian compendium.

(a) the arrangement of the book

In spite of the anonymity of its exploitation, no source—not even Plato—is as prominent in the first book of the *Eclogae* as Aëtius. But in the process an intense amount of rearrangement has taken

⁶⁹ See esp. *DG* 66–9. Volkmann (1871) also makes valuable observations; see above n. 59.

place, both at the 'macro'-level of the book as a whole, and also at the 'micro'-level of the individual chapter. The following table indicates the presence of Aëtius in book I, as revealed through a comparison with P. Various sigla have been added to make clear the sources of our information on the text of S itself. These are mainly relevant to the second half of the book, and make very clear its poor state of preservation.

<i>italics</i>	title same or similar to P
x	entire chapter lost
□	chapter incomplete, i.e. Aëtiana probably missing
⟨ ⟩	S probably used A, but evidence lost
◦	subtitles derived from A introduced in body of chapter
•	title reconstructed from Photius
*	title corroborated by L (index or text)
**	L's title in index probably involves contamination from P ⁷⁰
#	Aëtian material preserved in L
##	L's Aëtian material probably involves contamination from P

The sigla are only given when directly relevant. For example material in L which is already found in the other mss. is not specially marked.

¶	title-subject	sigla	¶¶ in P
1	<i>God</i> , creator and administrator		1.7
2	denial of providence	x•	⟨1.7⟩ ⁷¹
3	justice		—
4	<i>necessity</i>		1.25-26
5	<i>fate</i> and τῶν γινομένων εὐταξία		1.27-28
6	<i>chance</i> or ταῦτόματον		1.29
7	the ἀλόγιστος φορὰ of <i>chance</i>		1.29
8	<i>time</i>		1.21-22, 3.8, 2.32
9	heavenly Aphrodite and eros		—
10	<i>principles and elements</i> of universe		1.3, 1.2
11	<i>matter</i>		1.9
12	<i>ideas</i>		1.10
13	<i>causes</i>		1.11
14	<i>bodies, dissection, minima</i>	◦	1.12, 13, 16
15	<i>shapes</i>		1.14, 2.2, 7, 8, 10
16	<i>colours</i>		1.15

⁷⁰ On this subject see further below §8, p. 267ff.

⁷¹ Assuming with Diels (1881) 348 against Elter (1880) 45 that the mention of Callimachus in Photius' name-list of philosophers is drawn from the Aëtian text preserved at P 1.7.1, for which the most likely place in Stobaeus is this missing chapter.

17	<i>mixture</i>		1.17
18	<i>void, place, space</i>		1.18, 19, 20, 2.9
19	<i>motion</i>		1.23
20	<i>generation and destruction</i>		1.24, 2.4, 5
21	<i>cosmos: ensouled, ruling part, food etc.</i>		2.1, 3, 4, 5, 6
22	<i>cosmos – order, unicity</i>	◦●*	1.5, 2.1, 6, 7
23	<i>heaven, order and division</i>		2.11-12
24	<i>stars – substance, shape, motion etc.</i>		2.13-19
25	<i>sun – substance, size, shape etc.</i>		2.20-24
26	<i>moon: substance, size, shape</i>	◦**	2.25-31
27	<i>milky way</i>		3.1
28	<i>comets etc.</i>		3.2
29	<i>thunder etc.</i>		3.3
30	<i>rainbow, rods, mock suns, halo</i>		3.5, <6, 18?>
31	<i>clouds etc.</i>	#	3.4
32	<i>winds</i>	□	3.7
33	<i>earth: unicity, size, position</i>	x●*	<3.9, 12, 13?>
34	<i>earth: shape</i>	x●*	<3.10>
35	<i>earth: fixed or moved</i>	x●*	<3.11?>
36	<i>earthquakes</i>	□●*	3.15
37	<i>sea: composition, bitterness</i>	x●*	<3.16>
38	<i>tides</i>	●*#	3.17
39	<i>waters</i>	□	—
40	<i>universe</i>		—
41	<i>nature</i>		—
42	<i>animals: birth of</i>	□●**	5.18, <6-8, 10-12, 14-17, 21>
43	<i>animals: genera of</i>	□**	5.20
44	<i>sleep, death</i>	x●*	<5.24-25>
45	<i>plants</i>	□	5.26
46	<i>animals: food, appetite</i>	x●	<5.27-28>
47	<i>man's nature</i>	●	—
48	<i>mind</i>		4.5? ⁷²
49	<i>soul</i>	◦	4.2-4, 6
50	<i>perception, perceptibles etc.</i>	●*#	4.8-9
51	<i>senses: number, nature, function</i>	●*#	4.10
52	<i>sight, mirrors</i>	●*##	4.13-15
53	<i>hearing</i>	●*#	4.16
54	<i>smell</i>	●*	4.17
55	<i>taste</i>	□●*	<4.18?>

⁷² S 1.48.7 not preserved in P, but probably from A; cf. Mansfeld (1990a) 3092 n. 138.

56	touch	□	⟨?⟩
57	<i>voice: whether incorporeal etc.</i>	□	4.19, ⟨20-21⟩
58	<i>representation, criterion</i>	□•	⟨4.12?⟩
59	opinion	□	—
60	<i>breathing and passions</i>	□•*	⟨4.22-23⟩

Our table shows quite decisively that the topics covered by the book have been largely based on the subjects dealt with in the *Placita*. Only 7 or 8 of the 60 chapters find no equivalent in A.⁷³ Unlike P, however, S feels no obligation to retain the exact structure and sequence of the original source. Although the basic sequence of thought runs parallel to the five books of A, three significant changes have been introduced.

(1) The work is given a properly theological beginning (heeding the Aratean injunction ἐκ θεοῦ ἀρχώμεσθα). Not only does S promote the chapter on God (1.7 in P) to first position as ¶1, but also he adds to it chapters on the denial of divine providence and on justice, followed by chapters on necessity, fate, chance etc., before the ἀρχαί of A's more philosophical approach come into the picture in ¶10. Here we see the influence of late ancient piety such as is also found in Neoplatonist authors.⁷⁴

(2) The division between principles and cosmological subjects that A maintains according to P's books I and II⁷⁵ is abandoned in a number of chapters (¶8, 15, 18, 20, 22).

(3) The excerpts from A's book V precede those from Book IV, i.e. the chapters on animals in general precede those with a more specific application to man.⁷⁶ ¶47 Περί φύσεως ἀνθρώπου, which has no equivalent in P is no doubt meant to mark this change. Yet it is most odd that this chapter starts with *Tim.* 90e–92c, in which Plato leaves the subject of man and turns to the birth of woman and the animals in the process of metempsychosis. The arrangement of the final part of book does not seem entirely happy.⁷⁷ As

⁷³ It is not clear whether A had a chapter on touch (missing in P); cf. above p. 186, n. 219.

⁷⁴ See above our remarks above at n. 4, where the possibility of Christian influence is also raised.

⁷⁵ Compromised to some degree in 1.4-5, 18 etc.

⁷⁶ This is the standard order in the *Hexaemeron* literature, for in the Genesis creation account the animals are created before man; cf. Runia (1986) 418 on Philo.

⁷⁷ But in the absence of a complete text it is wise not to be too judgmental.

Diels pointed out (*DG* 66), however, the rearrangement of A's books does allow a smoother transition to the ethical contents of S's book II.

Our table further shows that in the 52 chapters in which S uses A, material is taken from approximately 115 chapters of the 133 found in P (it is not possible to be exact because of the truncated text in the second half).⁷⁸ In about half the cases there is an exact correspondence between the two works (e.g. ¶11–13). Occasionally one Aëtian chapter is spread out over more than one chapter in S (¶1–2, 8–9, 20–22). In the remaining cases S has combined material from more than one chapter in A. This process, involving two methods which we shall label 'sequential connection' and 'coalescence' respectively, will be examined in more detail in the next sub-section.

In the titles of his chapters too Stobaeus shows a heavy dependence on his source, as the italics in the table show. Here the same variation occurs, some titles exhibiting complete correspondence, while others are clearly based on A but either join the titles of several chapters together or alter them in a way that suits his particular purpose. For example in ¶24 S coalesces the material from 2.13–19 in P, but his title *Περὶ οὐσίας ἀστέρων καὶ σχημάτων, κινήσεώς τε καὶ ἐπίσημασίας* only contains elements from ¶13, 14, 16, 19. In general the titles tend towards contraction, but there are exceptions. Thus at ¶43 S has the same long title as in P, not the shorter title as in G, while at ¶35 the title *πότερά μένει ἡ γῆ ἢ κινεῖται* is longer than that found in P and G, and may well be the work of S himself. On a number of occasions S prefers not to cover the entire contents of a chapter in its title, but introduces sub-titles derived from A during the course of his excerpts (¶14, 22, 26, 49⁷⁹).⁸⁰ He resorts to this technique because he runs into problems in the process of coalescence.

⁷⁸ The figures of Diels *DG* 56, about 12 short of the complete 130, exaggerate a little because he was misled by contamination in L; see further below p. 267ff.

⁷⁹ At 325.4–8, but note also introduction of further subtitles (not from A) in the excerpt from Iamblichus *Περὶ ψυχῆς* at 367.10ff.

⁸⁰ On difficulties associated with these sub-titles see further below §8, p. 267 (the problem of contamination).

(b) the arrangement of the individual chapter

Within the chapter itself the anthologist has scope for all manner of artful arrangement. The Aëtian material has to be integrated into the complete collection of poetic and prose excerpts which he wishes to use, among which other doxographical snippets can also appear. Things are at their simplest when A furnishes all the material he has, e.g. ¶38 on tides. But this situation is rare. The chapters in which he uses material from only a single chapter of A are still relatively straightforward, even if it is not always easy for the reader to disentangle other doxographical material derived from AD and elsewhere (e.g. ¶11-13). Things get really complicated when material from multiple chapters is combined into a single whole. At this point it is important that we distinguish clearly between the *two different techniques* used by Stobaeus to combine material from different chapters of A.

(1) He *coalesces* chapters or groups of *doxai* when he abandons A's subject-orientated approach and joins together *doxai* from different chapters that refer to the same philosopher. Such lemmata consisting of *doxai* of the same philosopher on various related topics we shall call 'clusters'. In practice S usually preserves the order of lemmata of the first chapter and adds other *doxai* to the name-labels as he goes along.

(2) On other occasions he *connects up* whole chapters or groups of *doxai* without disturbing the internal sequence of *doxai*. In this case the text is A undergoes very little interference.

In a remarkable chapter, ¶26, both the techniques are used in an illuminating way.⁸¹ First S systematically coalesces all *doxai* in P 2.25-27. Then, recognizing that further use of this method would entail excessive labour, in the remainder of the chapter he simply joins up the chapters P 2.28-31, also writing out their titles in order to separate them from what goes before.

For us, too, it is going to be rather laborious to analyse the method used by S to build up his chapters. Nevertheless it is important that we do so, for only via such an analysis can we gain a more precise insight into the way S dealt with his source material. We proceed by means of two examples.

(i) Chapter 1.15 on shapes is a short but elaborate piece of work, in which the anthologist joins together poetic quotes, extracts from

⁸¹ Cf. Diels DG 68, for whom it was an example of S's *inconstancia*.

philosophers and doxographical reports. Here we have an example of S mixing together the general discussion of subjects in book I with the specific application to cosmology in Book II. The contents of the chapter are arranged as follows (the numbering is that found in Wachsmuth's edition).

Ecl. 1.15 Περί σχημάτων.

—S starts with his poetic material, as is his wont when such material is available:

- 1 A cosmological verse from the *Iliad* (9.16), labelled 'Ομήρου.
- 2^a Two further cosmological verses, one anonymous, one from Empedocles, both unlabelled (Wachsmuth restores the second label).

—Turning to the prose authors we first find:

- 3^a The name-label Πορφύριον, but the excerpt is missing. Its presence here could be a mistake, since one would expect the definition to be the first prose quote (as in ¶11-14, 16).

—A definition of shape is taken from Aëtius.

- 3^b = A at P 1.15.1.

—S first presents 2 excerpts from Plato's *Timaeus*, in which only the cosmological aspect of shape comes to the fore:

- 4 *Tim.* 33b, introduced by a brief quasi-doxographical statement (on which see below p. 265f.).
- 5 *Tim.* 62d-63a, labelled ἐν ταὐτῳ ('in the same work').

—S now turns to his doxographical material and commences with:

- 6^a lemmata 2-6 [Pythagoras and followers, Anaxagoras, Leucippus and followers, Cleanthes, Zeno] of A's (= P) 1.14 περὶ σχημάτων (only lemma 2 in P, last lemma seems somewhat out of place).

—It is natural to turn now the chapter in book II on the cosmos' shape, so he connects up:

- 6^b lemmata 1-2 [Stoics, Leucippus-Democritus] of A's (= P) 2.2 περὶ σχήματος κόσμον (the second not in P).

—Both these lemmata affirm the spherical shape of the cosmos, which leads S to embark on the (rather distantly) related topic of the cosmos' inclination. A practical problem is that the last lemma in A's (= P) 2.2—Epicurus on the possibility of other cosmic shapes—interferes with the transition, so it is left out. Thus we read

- 6^c first lemma [Diogenes-Anaxagoras] of A's (= P) 2.8 τίς ἡ αἰτία τοῦ τὸν κόσμον ἐγκλιθῆναι.

—But now S makes a rather unexpected jump. Copying out 2.8 he comes to the second lemma on Empedocles and sees a connection with a lemma of the same philosopher in the previous chapter (no doubt it caught his eye while writing). The connection is that the placement of the elements is not fixed (2.7), so the cosmos originally had its celestial pole at the zenith, but it was later tilted through the influence of the sun on the air (2.8). So he copies out

- 6^d lemma 6 [Empedocles] of A's (= P) 2.7 περὶ τάξεως τοῦ κόσμου, then lemma 2 of A's (= P) 2.8, followed by lemma 2 [also Empedocles] of A's (= P) 2.10 τίνα δεξιὰ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τίνα ἀριστερά.

—This amounts to a cluster of Empedoclean *doxai*, in which lemmata from three different chapters have been coalesced together. Having now moved to the subject of the left and right regions of the cosmos, S copies out the remaining lemma:

6^e lemma 1 [Pythagoras-Plato-Aristotle] of A's (= P) 2.10.

—S is finished with his doxographical material, but the last lemma allows a neat transition to a Pythagorean cosmological fragment attributed to Philolaus, so he concludes the chapter with:

7 excerpt from Philolaus Βάκχαι.

The end result is that chapters 1.14, 2.2, 2.8, 2.10 of A have been completely covered, as far as we can tell (from P), except the last lemma of 2.2. But, because S decided to give a little cluster of Empedoclean views, a stray lemma from 2.7 has entered the chapter. What is fascinating to note is that when this last-named chapter is wholly copied out at 1.22.1 the Empedoclean lemma *is not repeated*. This occurs some 50 pages later in our modern text edition. How could S have remembered his earlier deployment?

(ii) In chapter 1.24 the subject is the nature and phenomenal aspects of the stars. S rather surprisingly chooses to present only doxographical material, but this may not in all cases derive from A.⁸² Since no less than 7 chapters of A are coalesced, we shall have to present its composition rather schematically. The chapter (¶) and lemmata (§) numbers will be those of the corresponding chapters in P's *epitome* of A.

1.24 Περί οὐσίας ἄστρον καὶ σχημάτων, κινήσεώς τε καὶ ἐπισήμιασας

1^a Thales: lemma from ¶13 (= §1)

1^b Empedocles: 2 lemmata from ¶13 coalesced (= §2, 5)

1^c Anaxagoras: cluster containing lemmata from ¶13 (= §3), ¶16 (§1)

1^d Diogenes: 2 lemmata from ¶13 coalesced (joined together in P as §4)

1^e Democritus: cluster consisting of lemmata from ¶13 (not in P), ¶15 (= §3)

1^f Archelaus: lemma from ¶13 (not in P)

1^g Anaximander: cluster containing lemmata from ¶13 (not in P), ¶15 (= §6)

1^h Metrodorus: lemma from ¶15 (= §6, i.e. together with Anaximander, hence added here; Diels wrongly places in ¶14, as he subsequently realizes *DG* 853)

⁸² Because there was so much poetic and other material available; e.g. Aratus whom he cites at length in the next chapter on the sun.

- 1ⁱ Parmenides-Heraclitus: cluster containing lemmata from ¶13 (not in P), ¶17 (= §2)
- 1^k Anaximenes: cluster consisting of lemmata from ¶13 (not in P), ¶14 (= §3), ¶19 (= §3), ¶16 (= §4)
- 1^l Plato: cluster with lemmata from ¶13 (= §6), ¶17 (= §4), ¶15 (§4), ¶19 (= §1)
- 1^m Aristotle: cluster containing lemmata from ¶13 (not in P), ¶17 (= §3), and a fragment that Diels attributes to AD
- 1ⁿ Xenophanes: cluster with lemmata from ¶13 (= §7), ¶18 (= §1)
- 1^o Heraclides-Pythagoreans: lemma from ¶13 (= §8)
Epicurus: lemma from ¶13 (= §9)
- 2^a Xenocrates: lemma from ¶15 (= §1)
other (!) Stoics: lemma from ¶15 (= §2)
- 2^b οἱ μαθηματικοί: cluster consisting of lemma from ¶15 (= §5), two lemmata from ¶16 (= §5, 2)
Alcmaeon: lemma from ¶16 (= §2)
- 2^c Aristotle: lemma from ¶16 (not in P)
Anaximander: lemma from ¶16 (= §3)
- 2^d other Stoics: lemma from ¶14 (= §1)
Cleanthes: lemma from ¶14 (= §2)
- 2^e Parmenides: lemma from ¶15 (not in P)
- 3 Metrodorus: lemma from ¶17 (= §2)
Strato: lemma from ¶17 (not in P)
Diotimus Tyrius: lemma from ¶17 (not in P)
- 4 Eudoxus-Aratus: lemma from ¶19 (= §3)
- 5 Posidonius: lemma identified by Diels as from AD
Chrysippus: lemma identified by Diels as from AD
Apollodorus: lemma identified by Diels as from AD

In this example Stobaeus' method is absolutely clear. He decides that A's chapters 13 to 19 (as we find them in P) are going to be coalesced together, then commences to treat the names found in §13 one by one, adding lemmata in other chapters when he located them. The correspondence of the order of names with those preserved in P strongly suggests that the original order of A is being maintained by both authors.⁸³ This process takes care of more than half the lemmata in the 7 chapters. In the remaining sections S mops up what is left, starting with lemmata in ¶15 and adding others from ¶16, 14, 17 and 19. Only in the case of the

⁸³ It was thus rash of Diels to place Democritus before Diogenes in his reconstruction. Presumably his reason was that Theodoret appends Democritus to Anaxagoras (since they both speak of rocks) and they are also kept together at P 2.20 and 2.25. But there seems no reason why S should depart from his method here, whereas T's method is much looser. See further below p. 278ff., and also our analysis in vol. II.

μαθηματικοί can he still coalesce lemmata from more than one chapter.

Within the limitations of the method, the exercise is quite adroitly done. But it is inevitable that the change from a subject-orientated to a name-label-orientated approach will lead to a lot of modifications of the original and even to outright mistakes. Especially multiple name-labels attached to a single *doxa* give a lot of trouble. At 1⁸ S coalesces two *doxai* of Anaximander, but to the second the name of Metrodorus was also attached. The problem is solved by the addition of a short sentence which unfortunately contains a mistake (1^h Μητρόδωρος ὁμοίως περὶ σχήματος [should be τάξεως] τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεφώνητο). Similarly at 2^b the words τοῦτω δὲ συνομολογεῖ καὶ Ἀλκμαίων are the invention of S to cover the double name-label at P 2.16.2. The deficiencies of Diels' double columns are apparent in such cases, since he has no alternative but to include these Stobaeian additions in the text of his right column. More seriously, at 1ⁱ Parmenides and Heraclitus are associated on account of the lemma in §13, but the second lemma applies only to the Ionian and not the Eleatic, as a glance at P's 2.17 shows. Comparison with P shows that elsewhere in the process of coalescence names get lost: Crates, cf. P 2.15; Democritus-Cleanthes, Plato, cf. P 2.16; Stoics, cf. 2.17. Such mishaps are the inevitable result of the method S has decided to use.

The most important point, however, has yet to be made, namely the *exhaustiveness* of S's efforts. Only 2 lemmata of the 33 in P are missing: (a) an anonymous *doxa* on the cosmos' shape in 2.14, which proved too difficult to integrate into the named lemmata, and (b) a curious *doxa* of Metrodorus on the Dioscuri which he may have overlooked or thought unsuitable. It is clear that, when we survey the evidence of this privileged example, where the transmission of both P and S is particularly clear, everything points to the conclusion that S has undertaken to copy out his source completely, leaving out as little as he could. How could he achieve this aim when pursuing such a complicated method? The answer, we suggest, is that he must have kept a record of his excerpts, probably *by marking the text* of the codex that he was using,⁸⁴ so that he could be sure that no repetitions would

⁸⁴ Cf. our remarks above at n. 32–4 concerning the marks that the elder Pliny placed in his texts (= *notae*, σημεία). See further addendum on p. 271.

ensue, and could also see which lemmata he had not copied out.⁸⁵ This suggestion would explain the feat of memory that we discovered in the previous example. When S got to ¶22 the mark in his text would have reminded him not to copy out the Empedoclean lemma for a second time. To our knowledge there is only one example, among all the hundreds of the lemmata that S copies out from A, where a lemma is in fact repeated, namely the *doxa* of Philolaus found at P 2.5.3.⁸⁶ S noted that this report supplies information on both $\phi\theta\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$ that occurs in the cosmos and on the source of the cosmos' food. Since these subjects are divided between his chapters 20 and 21, he includes the lemma in both, somewhat modifying the text in the process.⁸⁷

In his brief account of S's method Diels notes this example and describes it with his customary severity (*gravior interpolatio, ineptiae, fraus*).⁸⁸ The procedure in the present case, however, can only be described as fraudulent or deceitful if one assumes that the anthologist has the duty to copy out his excerpts exactly as he found them in his source. Such a demand is clearly absurd. The aim of the anthologist is not to preserve an old book but to make a new one. It gives him pleasure to rearrange his material in a novel and attractive way. Textual modification is bound to occur on a small scale in order to facilitate the arrangement of the material. An interesting example occurs in the case of various definitions which S takes from his doxographical source in the chapters on various philosophical principles or concepts in 1.11–19. Comparison with P suggests that three times the text is slightly altered:⁸⁹

1.13.1a: to the definition of $\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ is added $\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$.

1.16.1: to the definition of $\chi\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ is added $\pi\rho\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$.

1.19.1: the text reads $\Pi\upsilon\theta\alpha\gamma\acute{o}\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \cdot\ \kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\ \delta\iota\alpha\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta\eta,\ \acute{\eta}\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta\eta.\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\iota\nu\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{o}\delta\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ (Wachsmuth wrongly prints $\Pi\upsilon\theta\alpha\gamma\acute{o}\rho\omicron\upsilon$). S has removed the name-label Plato and

⁸⁵ Note that if he ticked off a lemma that contained two names when he had only used one in making a cluster, then it was easy for the other name to remain neglected.

⁸⁶ Utilized both at 20.1^g, 21.6^d.

⁸⁷ There is more repetition in the case of sentences from AD, at 1.8.40^b and 1.8.42, 1.22.1^c and 1.23.2, 1.25.5 and 26.1ⁱ.

⁸⁸ DG 68, 333. See further above text to n. 55 and p. 99f.

⁸⁹ We cannot, of course, be absolutely certain about these moves because it is also possible that P abridged what he found in A.

added the second sentence. Also the words $\eta\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta$ are not found in P. They may have been added by S to give the *doxa* a more definitory character, but could also have stood in A and been omitted by P (this addition is more technical than one would expect from S).

It is apparent that the anthologist is motivated by aesthetic considerations. In the first two cases the definition put forward is a bit on the short side (compare longer ones at 1.11.1, 1.12.1), so he fills out slightly. In the third case consistency is the consideration; the chapter is brought into line with previous ones.

Commenting in his analysis on the intricacies of composition of chapters 15 and 18, Volkmann argued that the fact that S joins up lemmata from quite diverse parts of his source means he cannot have used the original *Placita* source (i.e. as in P), but rather a reworked version. Such ‘minutiöse mosaikarbeit’ involving ‘künstlerische zusammenstellung’ cannot be accredited to a ‘blosze samler’ such as Stobaeus was.⁹⁰ Volkmann, however, got the onus of the argument exactly wrong. As anthologist Stobaeus is *not* a ‘mere compiler’ precisely because he *is* interested in achieving a certain amount of ‘artful arrangement’. Indeed it is apparent that, quite apart from the markings he placed in his text (according to our hypothesis), he must have made a reasonably careful study of Aëtius’ book before he started to exploit it in his collection. The least one can say about the distribution and coalescence of various chapters in the book is that it was premeditated.

(c) the sequences of lemmata

How reliable, then, is Stobaeus in the preservation of the original sequence of doxographical lemmata in his source? As we have just seen, in the grand scheme of coalescence on which he embarks in ¶24, he preserves the order of all nine lemmata in P 2.13 perfectly, except that he joins together the 2nd and 5th which both give the views of Empedocles. In many other chapters there is no conflict between the evidence of P and S. We recall how in ¶26, when S decides that the task of integrating all the chapters on the moon is too much, the remaining chapters in P 2.28–31 are written out with apparently complete fidelity. In such cases, needless to say, the task of reconstruction is straight-forward, and the double columns of Diels can hardly be faulted.

⁹⁰ Volkmann (1871) 694f. (his spelling).

But Stobæus is too much the artful arranger to remain content with such straight reportage. Various motives can be discerned which have induced him to alter the sequence found in his source. The process of *coalescence* in many instances cannot but play havoc with A's order of lemmata. The *interposition of other doxographical material* also leads to the introduction of changes. This is particularly the case with the excerpts from AD and the quotations of Plato that S inserts. The complexities of this material will be discussed at greater length below. An interesting example is found at 1.12 Περί ιδεῶν, where the lemmata Plato, Aristotle, Stoics from Zeno onwards are replaced by extracts from AD in the order Aristotle, Plato (plus a quote from the *Parmenides*), Zeno. The motivation for the transposition of Plato and Aristotle is not immediately evident. Just possibly S was struck by the collocation τὰ λεγόμενα εἶδη καὶ τὰς ιδέας in the Pythagorean lemma, and so decided on a sequence Aristotle (εἶδη), Plato (ιδέαι). Certainly the clarity of the presentation in A, which starts with a Platonizing definition, then moves from Pythagoras (ideas as numbers) to Socrates-Plato (theologization), to Aristotle (abandonment), to Zeno (internalization), is wholly lost.

Furthermore it should be pointed out that the process of *mental association* also plays a strong role in the way lemmata are linked together, whereby the original sequence can easily be disturbed. The association can be merely superficial, or it can be motivated by deeper concerns. As an example of the latter we take the first five lemmata of 1.20 Περί γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς. The 1st, 4th and 5th simply write out the three lemmata of the equivalent chapter P 1.23. What about the remaining two? The 2nd lemma begins Ἡράκλειτός φησιν, ὅτι..., a quite exceptional way for a doxographical lemma to begin.⁹¹ The *doxa* is derived from Plato *Crat.* 402a (characteristically the direct, i.e. secondary, source is not mentioned). Both Diels (by implication) and Wachsmuth consider that S has inserted the excerpt, probably rightly. This means he must have recalled to mind the radical opposition between Heraclitus and the Eleatics and considered it suitable to commence his chapter with. The 3rd lemma remains, Plato on the destructibility–indestructibility of the cosmos, derived from A at P

⁹¹ No exact parallels with ὅτι in P, but for some cases of φησί cf. Metrodorus 1.5.4, Timaeus 5.18.2, Asclepiades 5.30.5 etc.

2.4.1. The explanation for the jump in thought can only be the association in S's mind of Plato's doctrine with his Heraclitean perspective of the radical changeability of the phenomenal world. The anthologist has at least that much knowledge of Platonism at his command. But S's move makes it very difficult to determine where the original position of this lemma in 2.4 was. As we shall see in a later analysis, the lemma most likely did not originally stand at the beginning of the chapter, as both P and S in different ways suggest.⁹²

A practical feature of Stobaeus' methods of rearrangement which must be taken into account when we attempt to reconstruct the original sequence of lemmata in A is that he very often works with *blocks* of *doxai*. This results from the fact that he generally undertakes to copy out all of A. Often, therefore, if he moves to the *doxa* of a particular philosopher, he will continue with the *doxai* that follow, which for us as readers results in a block of lemmata that preserves the original sequence of A. The process can be illustrated by means of two examples, which at the same time furnish interesting illustrations of the way S arranges his doxographical material.

(i) *Ecl.* 1.8 *Περὶ χρόνου οὐσίας καὶ μερῶν καὶ πόσων εἴη αἴτιος* commences with a long list of poetic quotes (§1-39), followed by some philosophical apophthegmata (§40^a). The doxographical excerpts begin at §40^b. S undertakes to combine 1.21-22 as found in P. The relation between the two witnesses can be illustrated as follows (we ignore excerpts not relevant to the analysis of A at P 1.21-22):⁹³

P	S
1.21 <i>Περὶ χρόνου</i>	1.8.40 ^b <i>Περὶ χρόνου οὐσίας...</i>
Pythagoras	Pythagoras
Plato (1)	
Eratosthenes	Eratosthenes
1.22 <i>Περὶ οὐσίας χρόνου</i>	
Plato (2)	
Most Stoics	Stoics
Most thinkers	Most thinkers
Plato (3)	

⁹² See our attempt at reconstruction in vol. II.

⁹³ Because this analysis is given only as an example, we do not enter into discussion with the recent analyses given by Cavagnaro (1994), (1995) 64ff.

Xenocrates
 Chrysippus (= AD)
 Hestiaeus
 Strato
 Epicurus
 Antiphon-Critolaus
 40^{de} 42 Aristotle etc. (AD)
 45 Plato (1)(3)(2), *Tim.* 37c^{ff}.

The first thing to note is S's extraction of the three Platonic lemmata in A, in order to join them to the extract from the *Timaeus*.⁹⁴ This entirely destroys the systematics of the two chapters, but that does not bother him. The reconstruction of 1.21 is easy; only the first Platonic *doxa* needs to be reinserted, and S matches P exactly. The next chapter is more difficult. What strikes one immediately is the long sequence of lemmata from Xenocrates to Antiphon-Critolaus that is entirely missing in P. It will be sound to assume that these are a block.⁹⁵ But one lemma has a different form than the others, for it places the name-label at the end. As Diels acutely saw (*DG* 318), the Chrysippean lemma is a brief extract from AD additionally inserted by S;⁹⁶ it is repeated a few pages later in §42 (106.6). This lemma has been suggested by the word μέτρον in the Xenocratean definition, and is inserted parenthetically. Where then should this block be placed? A clue is supplied in the fact that P's reportage of the *doxa* of the Stoa differs from that in S:

P οἱ πλείους τῶν Στωικῶν αὐτὴν τὴν κίνησιν.
 S οἱ Στωικοὶ χρόνου οὐσίαν αὐτὴν τὴν κίνησιν.

It is general practice in A, as we have had occasion to note earlier,⁹⁷ to start chapters on the οὐσία of something by repeating the word οὐσία in the first lemma. In 1.22, according to P, that happens in the lemma Plato(2). But this is deleted by S, so he moves the words χρόνου οὐσίαν to the next lemma, i.e. that of the Stoics. That these two lemmata followed each other is proven by the fact that the doxographer clearly makes a diaphonic contrast between the Platonic and the Stoic view, i.e. between time as τὴν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κίνησιν and αὐτὴν τὴν κίνησιν.⁹⁸ A final problem remains. P ends 1.22 with a contrast between 'most thinkers' and Plato on

⁹⁴ More on S's treatment of Platonic lemmata below, §7, p. 265ff.

⁹⁵ As done by Diels *DG* 318.

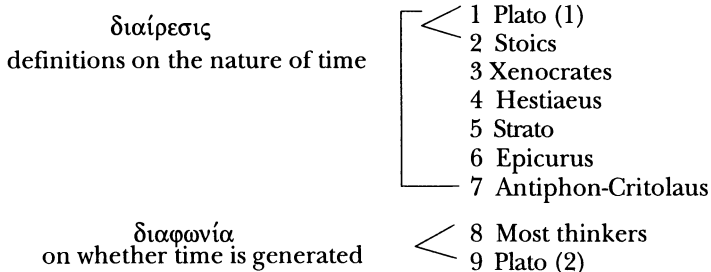
⁹⁶ On the verb εἶπε see further below p. 233.

⁹⁷ See above p. 178 on P 1.26.1.

⁹⁸ Against Diels, who failed to see the opposition.

the generated/ungenerated nature of time. S postpones the Platonic lemma to the end (= P(3)), but places the other lemma before the block. Where, then, did this pair of lemmata stand in A? Our preference is to place them at the end, for we will see that it is A's practice often to introduce another (sub-)topic at the end of a chapter. The chapter would thus consist of a linear diaeresis of 7 views on the nature of time (of which the first two form a διαφωνία), followed by a final diaphonic pair on whether time is generated:

Aëtius 1.22 Περί οὐσίας χρόνου reconstructed



One aspect remains to be explained. Our reconstruction entails that S has interrupted the sequence Plato Stoics Xenocrates by inserting the *doxa* of οἱ πλείους between the last two. The reason, presumably, is that he rather superficially sees a connection between them, i.e. time as ἀγέννητος (the majority) and time as κίνησις αἰδίδιος (Xenocrates).

(ii) The second chapter to be taken as example is 1.52 Περί ὁράσεως καὶ κατοπτρικῶν ἐμφάσεων, in which S joins together P's 4.13, 14 & 15. The chapter is exceptional because, having been preserved in ms. L by chance, it is one of the few in books IV–V that is apparently complete, and can thus be used as a check on P. For §13 S has 7 extra lemmata, the other two chapters are almost identical in the two witnesses. Once again a side-by-side table will be illuminating:⁹⁹

ps.Plutarch	Stobaeus
4.13 Περί ὁράσεως...	1.52 Περί ὁράσεως...
Democritus-Epicurus	Leucippus-Democritus-Epicurus
Empedocles [= S's Hestiaeus]	

⁹⁹ The chapter is well reconstructed by Diels *DG* 403-6; we ignore in this analysis the problems of contamination in 4.15, on which see below §8, p. 267ff.

	Timagoras
	Strato
	Aristarchus
Hipparchus	Hipparchus
	Pythagoras-Parmenides
Plato	Plato
	Alcmaeon
	Aristotle (AD according to Diels)
	Academics
	Posidonius
	Empedocles
[Empedocles]	Hestiaeus
4.14 Περί κατοπτρικῶν ἐμφάσεων	
Empedocles	Empedocles
Democritus-Epicurus	Leucippus-Democritus-Epicurus
Pythagoreans	Pythagoreans-scientists
extra comment	extra comment ¹⁰⁰
4.15 Εἰ ὁρατὸν τὸ σκότος	
Stoics	Sphaerus the Stoic
Chrysippus	Chrysippus
	Plato <i>Timaeus</i> etc.

The pieces of the puzzle fit together very neatly here. Through the evidence of S it can immediately be seen that the second lemma in P's 4.13 has been erroneously attributed by the epitomator to Empedocles instead of Hestiaeus, a simple case of misreading and attaching the name-label to the *doxa* of the next lemma (they follow each other in S).¹⁰¹ That the Aristotelian lemma in S is derived from AD and not A is given away by the fact that (1) it alone uses infinitives and (2) combines the subjects of sight and hearing. P's order can be preserved if we surmise that S started with the opening lemma and then worked with two blocks: one block from Timagoras to Alcmaeon (i.e. §2-8 in Wachsmuth), the other block from Academics to Hestiaeus (i.e. §10-13, §9 being from AD). As the order in P reveals, S has reversed the order in which these blocks occurred in A, i.e. his first block appeared second in A and *vice versa*. The reason for this is as simple as can be, and does not flatter S's understanding of what his source was doing. Timagoras¹⁰² was described by A as εἰς τῶν παραχαρᾶξ-άντων ἐν συχνοῖς τὴν Ἐπικούρειον αἴρεσιν, so S thinks that it is a

¹⁰⁰ Regarded as a gloss by Wachsmuth, but retained by Diels and Mau.

¹⁰¹ On such mistakes in P see above p. 193.

¹⁰² On this little-known philosopher see below Ch. 7, p. 320f.

smart idea to connect him up with the group Leucippus-Democritus-Epicurus with which the chapter started. The great disadvantage of the move is that the sequence of subjects dealt with in the chapter is disturbed, especially the deliberate diaphonic contrast suggested by A between the Atomists' κατὰ εἰδῶλων εἵσκρισιν and the Academics' κατὰ τινων ἄκτίνων ἔκχυσιν.¹⁰³ The alteration is an indication that in general terms name-labels are given preference above subject-matter in S. The correct sequence of lemmata in the chapter was thus correctly presented by Diels:

- 4.13 Περί ὁράσεως, πῶς ὁρῶμεν
 Leucippus-Democritus-Epicurus
 Academics
 Posidonius
 Empedocles
 Hestiaeus
 Timagoras
 Aristarchus
 Hipparchus
 Pythagoras-Parmenides
 Plato
 Alcmaeon

Further analysis would be required in order to determine what A's original rationale was in devising this sequence. In what remains S copies out the chapters in A without disturbance, as can be deduced from the record in P (who also writes out in full). We note, finally, that S is more accurate than P in the writing out of the name-labels. Aside from the mistake noted above P twice deletes the name Leucippus, and changes the obscure Sphaerus the Stoic to Stoics *tout court*.¹⁰⁴

The conclusion to be drawn on Stobaeus' attitude towards the order of the lemmata in A should be conditionally phrased. In his arrangements he preserves the order unless he sees an attractive motive for departing from it. This tendency towards rearrangement means, in practical terms, that in reconstructing A we should start with the order found in P, who as we saw, generally retains the original sequence in the course of his epitomization.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Also disturbed by the contamination.

¹⁰⁴ Repetition of Stoics at §17^b 486.7–10 W. caused by the contamination from P, on which see below §8.

¹⁰⁵ See above p. 187f.

On the other hand, Stobaeus does not change the order for no good reason. The challenge for the reconstructor is to creep into the anthologist's mind and try to determine what his motivations—whether merely aesthetic or influenced by considerations involving name-labels or doctrinal content—must have been.

(d) introductory phraseology

One of the stylistic features of Aëtius' compendium is the curt way in which it introduces the vast majority of its *doxai*. At least nine-tenths commence with a name-label, followed immediately by the *doxa* in the accusative case. There is no verb of saying or declaration, and most often the subject of the *doxa* (e.g. the οὐσία of the sun) is also left out. Although in most cases S takes over this stylistic peculiarity of the *Placita*, there are occasions in which he finds it too bald for his liking. He then makes little additions of his own, generally a verb of declaration and a noun as subject of the *doxa* (but not a connecting particle). To give one example out of many, compare the following texts:

P 2.20.9 Ἐπίκουρος γήινον πύκνωμα κισηροειδῶς ταῖς κατατρήσεσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνημμένον.

S 25.3^f Ἐπίκουρος γήινον πύκνωμα τὸν ἥλιόν φησιν εἶναι κισηροειδῶς ταῖς κατατρήσεσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνημμένον.

It is more likely that the anthologist has added the underlined words than that the epitomator has removed them on account of the consistent style of A which P simply takes over. In this case it is the mechanics of coalescence that provoke the addition; S has to indicate that he returns to the subject of the sun's substance. Elsewhere the same mechanics require that whole sentences are added, e.g. at 1.24.1^h (Metrodorus), 2^b (Alcmaeon). In other cases a more adventurous verb is added, e.g. at 1.38.3, where αἰτίας ἀνατίθησιν is added. This practice adds an element of indeterminacy to every attempt at reconstruction of A. Take the following texts:

25.1^d Ἀναξιμένης πύρινον ὑπάρχειν τὸν ἥλιον ἀπεφάνετο.

26^e Θαλῆς γεώδη τὴν σελήνην ἀπεφάνετο.

In both cases it is likely that the underlined words have been added by S, but we cannot be sure because the lemmata are missing in P. A more interesting example is the following group of *doxai*:

21.6^{c-e} Πυθαγόρας φησὶ γενητὸν κατ' ἐπίνοιαν τὸν κόσμον, οὐ κατὰ χρόνον...

Φιλόλαος ἔφησε τὸ μὲν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πυρὸς ῥυέντος, τὸ δὲ ἐξ
 ὕδατος σεληνιακοῦ περιστροφῇ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀποχυθέντος εἶναι τὰς
 ἀναθυμιάσεις τροφὰς τοῦ κόσμου.
 Κλεάνθης ὁ Στωικὸς ἐν ἡλίῳ ἔφησεν εἶναι τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τοῦ
 κόσμου.
 Ἀρχέδημος τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τοῦ κόσμου ἐν γῇ ὑπάρχειν ἀπεφώνητο.

Comparison with P (2.4.1, 2.5.3) strongly suggests that first two underlined verbs have been added by S.¹⁰⁶ What about the remaining sentences containing two further verbs? Here too one can imagine that in his customary bald style A read (cf. the parallel chapter on man's ruling part at P 4.5):

Ποῦ ἔχει τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ὁ κόσμος
 Κλεάνθης ὁ Στωικὸς ἐν ἡλίῳ·
 Ἀρχέδημος ἐν γῇ.

But the entire chapter is not found in P.¹⁰⁷

These additions are in themselves, of course, extremely trivial and would not be worth dwelling upon, were it not for one consideration. If we can pin them down, they provide us with an opportunity to identify places where the anthologist personally intervenes in the composition and arrangement of his excerpts. This is useful because we know that he includes material from other doxographical collections and it is important to be able to separate this material from what originally stood in A's compendium. But is it possible to pin such additions down? It appears that there is at least one very useful philological criterion that is of some help. Investigation of S's verbs of declaration shows that he uses a number of verbal forms that are not found in A. These therefore indicate his intervention:

ἔφησε: this verbal form is very common in S (e.g. in the Philolaic and Cleanthean lemmata just cited above), but is *nowhere* found in P (who prefers ἔφη). It is a strong indication of a Stobaeian addition. The form is, however, also very common in T, and also occurs in N (e.g. 17.2 Morani). In G it is found only once, in the third line of the work. See further below p. 250, 256 on the fragments of AD in S.

ἀπεφαίνετο: although the forms ἀπεφώνητο and to a lesser extent ἀποφαίνεται are very common in the *Placita*, the imperfect does not occur and may be taken to indicate S's intervention; compare, for example, S 20.1^f and P 2.4.4.

¹⁰⁶ The second sentence is the one case where S repeats an Aëtian lemma; cf. above n. 86.

¹⁰⁷ On missing chapters in P see above p. 186; our reconstruction of this chapter in vol. II will thus necessarily have to be speculative.

ἔφασκε: this imperfect too is only found in S, at 1.14.1^c, 15.6^a, in short lemmata which could either come from A or AD. See further discussion below in §6, p. 251.

εἶπε: also only occurs in S, but no more than twice, at 8.40^b (Chrysippus) and 29.1 (Anaximander). On the former text, where S's intervention must be strongly suspected see above p. 227.

λέγει γάρ, λέγει γοῦν: consistently used by S to introduce quotations (mainly from Plato) which are added to or replace the *Placita*, e.g. 8.45, 18.4^c etc.; not found in P.

ἀρέσκει plus dative: a less clear example. Despite the occurrence of the participle in A's title, the phrase occurs only once in P, at 5.29.1, where it is very clearly used to introduce an comment additional to the main lemma. In S it is found 5 times (1.29^b Xenocrates, 17.4 Chrysippus (twice), 19.4 Zeno, 20.1^c Zeno-Cleanthes-Chrysippus, cf. also ἀρέσκουσιν αὐτῷ for Panaetius). The last four clearly come from AD (cf. similar phraseology at Eus. *PE* 15.15.7–8, 15.18.1, = AD fr. 29, 36 Diels), the first seems at first sight Aëtian. But this Xenocratean lemma is problematic. Why does it alone of all the reports in this chapter begin with the philosopher's patronymic and place of origin? Did this lemma (or at least parts of it) originally stand in 1.3 on the ἀρχαί, where all the other patronymics are? Certainly what follows the phrase ἀρέσκει δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ closely resembles the Empedoclean *doxa* at P 1.3. As we shall see (below p. 264), the historical comment on the transmission of doctrine resembles the method of AD more than that of A. Thus the phrase may indicate S's intervention after all (but our reasoning is circular). See also further below p. 257ff. on introductory verbs in the fragments of AD.

It is disappointing not to be able to find more than this, but unfortunately other common verbal forms which S interposes—such as φησί, φασί, ἔφασαν, ἀπεφάνετο—can tell us nothing, because they occur equally often in P. These indicators will need to be borne in mind when we examine S's addition of material from AD and Plato.¹⁰⁸

(e) the completeness of the excerpting

Earlier in our discussion of Stobaeus' method we hypothesized a technique of marking the text in order to ensure, even during the complicated processes of coalescence, that the Aëtian *placita* are copied out fully.¹⁰⁹ The question now needs to be stated in more general terms. How complete is the record of Aëtian excerpts that S includes in his anthology? The answer will be of no little importance, for it will help us to address the question to which Diels

¹⁰⁸ Below in §6 and §8.

¹⁰⁹ Above p. 222 on the basis of our analysis of *Ecl.* 1.15, 24.

studiously avoids giving an explicit answer in his analysis: how good a picture of the overall scope and structure of Aëtius' original compendium can be gained from the remains in P and S?

Earlier, when discussing the extent of P's reduction of the original A, we used the more copious material in S as a control on his epitomization. Let us now turn to the reverse question: how much material from A does P retain which is not found in S? Unfortunately we can only compare the chapters in which the Stobaeian record is preserved. The following table gives a complete list of lemmata in P missing in S (the markings will be explained below):¹¹⁰

¶ in P	cf. ¶ in S	subject	lemmata
1.3	10.11	ἀρχαί	Empedocles
1.5	22.3 ^a	universe unique	Plato [•]
1.10	12	ideas	Plato*, Aristotle*, Stoics*
1.11	13	causes	Stoa*
1.19	18	space	Aristotle†
1.26	4.7	necessity	Democritus
1.27	5.15	fate	Plato [•] , Stoa
1.28	5.15	nature of fate	Stoa* (?)
2.2	15.6	cosmos: shape	Epicurus
2.6	21	first element in creation	Empedocles, Plato†
2.7	22	cosmos: order	Plato [•]
2.9	18	extra-cosmic void	Aristotle†
2.14	24	stars: shape	anonymi†
2.18	24	Dioscuri	Metrodorus
2.20	25	sun: substance	Plato, Aristotle*
2.21	25	sun: size	Anaxagoras
2.22	25	sun: shape	Stoa*, Epicurus
2.23	25	sun: solstices	Plato-Pythagoras-Aristotle*

¹¹⁰ Missing name-labels are not included, since these can more easily fall by the wayside, and small internal omissions, such as at 1.10.14 are also ignored. Passages such as 1.1 and 1.7.1 are omitted, since it is far from certain that S drew on these (if they were in A at all). A similar list is found at Elter (1880) 24-5, who anticipates our argument by affirming 'itaque hoc certum esse videtur ubicunque tituli Stobaei originem ostendunt Aetianam... Aetii lemmata omnia fuisse in Stobaeo'. But Elter goes further in defending S than the evidence allows. Thus he argues that there was no place for A at P 2.6, 2.18 in S's excerpts, which is not the case. Elter uses his conclusion to defend the accuracy of S's excerpting also in the case of other sources. He does not perceive its significance for the reconstruction of the *Placita*. To our knowledge his contribution, written only a year after the *DG* was published went entirely unnoticed. Diels does not refer to it in his (1881) article, which amounts to a review article. See also above n. 21.

2.24	25	sun: eclipses	anonymi†
2.32	8.42	great year	anonymi†
3.5	30	rainbow	3 lemmata [#]
3.7	32	winds	3 lemmata [#]
3.15	36	earthquakes	10 lemmata [#]
4.2	49.1	soul: incorporeal	Plato [•]
4.3	49.1	soul: corporeal	introductory, Heraclitus
4.19	57	voice	4 lemmata [#]
5.18	42.3	seven-month olds	5 lemmata [#]
5.20	43	genera of animals	4 lemmata [#]
5.26	45	plants	2 lemmata ^{#111}

This list may be further supplemented by information supplied by Theodoret, for he too may indicate lemmata in A that S has passed over. This material will be dealt with in our next chapter. For the present we concentrate on S in relation to P.

The above list may seem rather extensive at first glance, but appearances are deceptive. Most of the missing references can be easily accounted for as follows. (i) All references in P books 3–5 except 4.2–3 are irrelevant because of the defective transmission of S (indicated by [#]). (ii) Lemmata marked with an asterisk are cases where S has replaced *doxai* of A with material from AD.¹¹² (iii) Bullet signs indicate where Platonic lemmata have been replaced with quotes from Plato's writings. (iv) Dagger signs are used to show where the mechanics of coalescence can be considered responsible for the omission; this is particularly the case in ¶25 = 2.20–24. We note that half of these cases involve anonymous *doxai* which S found hard to deal with or unattractive.¹¹³

So in actual fact we are left with but a handful of serious omissions. The Empedoclean lemma in 1.3 is replaced by another drawn from a similar but slightly different source (1.11^b).¹¹⁴ Some missing lemmata occur in relation to the messy chapters P 1.26–28. S, beginning his huge enterprise (¶4–5), is clearly not happy with the material offered by the doxographical source.¹¹⁵ Also

¹¹¹ We have omitted P 5.30, since the Stobæan material comes from the *Florilegium* and not *Eclogae* I.

¹¹² Once again we have to anticipate our discussion of this question in the following section.

¹¹³ This is also the case in Theodoret; see below p. 282, 287.

¹¹⁴ Diels suggested that it was derived from the ps.Plutarchean source parallel to *De Homero*: cf. *DG* 88f.; see above p. 211 and Mansfeld (1995).

¹¹⁵ These chapters would require separate analysis. S's rationale, complicated by the possible presence of AD, is difficult to follow.

lacking are two 'modal' *doxai* of Epicurus (2.2, 2.21), which S leaves out because they add little to the physical *doxai* he is interested in. The omission of Metrodorus' *doxa* in 2.18 is most likely an oversight.¹¹⁶ The deletion of Plato's *doxa* in 2.20 is surprising: we may surmise that it was S's intention to quote the *Timaieus* (oddly 40a ff. is never excerpted), but that it slipped his mind (or, as is perhaps more likely, has fallen out of our text in the course of abridgement and transmission). The most interesting omissions occur in 4.3, a chapter which S appears at first sight to copy out faithfully. The Heraclitus lemma placed last in P begins with the world soul, so is not regarded as suitable for the anthropological context. More intriguing is the fact that S deletes the first introductory lemma, which in A indicated the transition from incorporeal to corporeal views on the soul.¹¹⁷ S has decided that these systematics are not for him in the present context. Instead he lumps together all *doxai* on the soul except those of the inspired Platonic-Hermetic tradition. Evidence in T indicates that two further lemmata were left out.

These examples do not, therefore, disturb the force of our argument. We do not contend, it is important to note, that S is *committed* to giving a complete picture of A.¹¹⁸ He has his own priorities, and these will entail not only the deletion of whole chapters when it suits him, but occasionally also of individual lemmata. In general, however, once he decides to copy out a chapter of A, he will record all the lemmata in that chapter unless he has a specific reason for not doing so (or simply makes an understandable slip). This means that in the parts of the *Eclogae* which are well preserved and in which the *Placita* are extensively used, the picture of A which emerges is going to be fairly complete. Our conclusion is corroborated by the way in which S deals with the multitude of name-labels which he encountered in his source.

(f) name-labels

In our analysis of P's method above we showed by means of some statistics that P shows a marked preference for the more 'famous names' in the philosophical tradition.¹¹⁹ The corollary of these

¹¹⁶ As argued above in our analysis of S 1.24, p. 222.

¹¹⁷ On this important lemma see Mansfeld (1990a) 3067.

¹¹⁸ This was Elter's argument; see above n. 110.

¹¹⁹ Above p. 189f.

figures is that S must hold a different attitude. It is only because he does *not* excise the little known names that the comparison is possible. When he is copying out the *doxai* of the philosophers it does not bother him whether the figure involved is well-known or not. We note the following list of more or less obscure names—from the perspective of late antiquity of course—which S records but are for the most part deleted by P:¹²⁰

Antipater the Stoic, Apelles, Apollodorus, Archedemus, Aristagoras, Aristarchus, Berosus, Boethus, Critolaus, Diodorus Cronus, Diodorus Tyrius, Diotimus Tyrius, Ecphantus, Epidicus(?), Euryphon, Hestiaeus, Hippasus, Ion, Melissus, Ocellus, Polemon, Sphaerus, Speusippus, Timagoras, Xenarchus, Xenocrates (once in P, 8 times in S!).

Whereas in the long chapter on theology P retains only the 8 chief *doxai*, S writes out no less than 23, including some not very well known personages. It would be a surprise if the list were not complete. The richer and more varied the anthology the better for scatterbrain Septimius, or so it would seem.

Once again our argument should not be misunderstood. It is not the case that S is particularly conscientious in the case of A's name-labels. As we have seen, quite a number—with or without their concomitant *doxai*—fall by the way-side, both in the process of coalescence (where multiple name-labels form a special problem) and elsewhere.¹²¹ But, on the whole, if they are in his source, the anthologist will copy them out.

Moreover, it is also not the case that he has an entirely 'democratic' view of his *Placita*, i.e. that one name or view is as good as another. Stobaeus too has his preferences, but—in the first book of the *Eclogae* at least—they form a narrower group than those of P, and are dealt with in a different way. These preferences can be ordered in the following sequence: Platonica (supplemented by Hermetica and including a certain amount of Neoplatonic material), Pythagorica, Aristotelica, Stoica. The emphasis on the four Hellenistic schools which we discerned in P¹²² has receded in favour of a palate more in tune with the tastes of late antiquity.¹²³

¹²⁰ References can be found via Diels' magnificent index nominum.

¹²¹ E.g. in the coalescence of P 2.13–19 5 labels get lost; see our analysis of 1.24 above at p. 220ff.

¹²² See above p. 189.

¹²³ Brief remarks at Hense (1916) 2580, Fowden (1986) 197; but because S

Texts from Plato, the Neoplatonists, the *Corpus Hermeticum*, the Pythagorean corpus, as well as a limited amount of (ps.)Aristotelian material,¹²⁴ are copied out at first hand. No further attention is given to the Epicurean school beyond what is found in the *Placita*. After centuries of negative publicity, it was no longer a living reality. The Stoic school too was extinct by this time. It is understandable that S should retain an interest in the important ethical doctrines of the school.¹²⁵ But their extensive presence in the part of the anthology devoted to physics is perhaps somewhat surprising. We should recall, however, that one of his aims is to record the diversity of philosophical opinion in this area. It would appear that he was not entirely satisfied with the amount of material offered by the *Placita* (and the *De mundo*) in the area of Aristotle's physical views. He had been able to get his hands on a complementary handbook, the *Epitome* of Arius Didymus, no doubt a rare work by this time. This book also contained a good amount of Stoic material, which he added as well. Now that we have finished our survey of S's method as it applies to his use of excerpts from A, it is time that we turn to the difficult topic of his use of AD.

6. *The problem of Arius Didymus*¹²⁶

Stobaeus' use of Arius Didymus as a source has often been mentioned so far in our discussion, but treatment of the considerable complications that ensue has been postponed. Yet for at least two reasons this question is of central importance for our investigation. First and foremost, since it is apparent on the basis of the source analysis carried out by Diels that Stobaeus has mixed together

has been primarily been regarded as a compiler, almost no interest has been shown in his own predilections.

¹²⁴ Almost the whole of the *De mundo* is copied out (§1.36, 5.22, 40). No doubt S regarded it as genuine, and thus as a useful *epitome* of Aristotle's philosophy. His use of the *Corpus* is remarkably minimalist, confined only to a passage from the *Problemata* under heading ἐκ τῶν φυσιογνωμικῶν (§47.6). On the inaccurate reference at 1.23.2 see below p. 266.

¹²⁵ Cf. the copious extracts in the other books of the anthology (esp. the long doxography in Book II, the extracts from Epictetus and Musonius in books III–IV). We note too that Simplicius a century later found it worthwhile to write a commentary on Epictetus' *Enchiridion*.

¹²⁶ Parts of this section have been separately presented in Runia (1996). There is some unavoidable overlap with our discussion of the role of Meineke in the formation of the Dielsian hypothesis, above Ch. 1, §8.

material from A and AD,¹²⁷ it will not be possible to gain an accurate picture of the contents of A's work unless it is possible to identify and remove the lemmata drawn from AD. Secondly it will be instructive to compare two compendia which are probably to be dated to within a century of each other, can both be called 'doxographies' in a loose sense, but pursue subtly divergent aims and methods.

As we already indicated in the first chapter of our study, it was the research of Meineke, expanded by Diels in his *DG*, that brought the obscure figure of Arius Didymus into the limelight and ensured him a niche in the study of ancient philosophy ever since.¹²⁸ On the basis of their hypothesis it has been customary to attribute the following documents, all located in Eusebius and Stobaeus, to this personage.¹²⁹

1. **Eusebius** *PE* 11.23.2–6 fragment on Plato's ideas taken ἐκ τῶν Διδύμων Περί τῶν ἀρεσκόντων Πλάτωνι συντεταγμένων (a very similar text is found in Alcinous, *Didaskalikos* 12.1);
2. *PE* 15.15 Stoic fragments on cosmo-theology ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐπιτομῆς Ἀρείου Διδύμου;
3. *PE* 15.18–20 Stoic fragments on cosmology and psychology ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιτομῶν Ἀρείου Διδύμου;
4. **Stobaeus** *Ecl.* 1 large number of fragments on physics pertaining to Aristotle and the Stoics, but without any reference to their source; also at 1.12.2a the same fragment on Plato's ideas that is found in Eusebius;

¹²⁷ See above §4, p. 209ff. on S's sources. As noted above Ch. 2, p. 84ff., we accept this aspect of Diels' hypothesis and reject Lebedev's notion of an PS-Placita to be attributed to Eudorus and Arius Didymus; see further the Appendix to Ch. 7 below, p. 333ff.

¹²⁸ Ch. 1, §8. See, however, n. 157, where it is noted that he was anticipated by Heeren. For Diels see *DG* 69–88, arguably one of the finest parts of the 'Prolegomena'. Hahm (1990) 2937 rightly speaks of the 'Meineke-Diels hypothesis'.

¹²⁹ References to Mras' edition (Berlin 1954–6) for Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica*, Wachsmuth (1884) and Hense (1894–1923) for Stobaeus (1884–1912). We omit here two references to a Didymus in Clement which are of lesser importance and difficult to integrate in our picture of Arius Didymus; for these see above Ch. 1, nn. 160, 162. There is also a reference to Didymus' account of Aristotelian doctrine in Priscianus Lydus *Sol. ad Chosr.* 42.39f. Bywater, but no fragmentary material is furnished.

5. *Ecl.* 2.1.17 epistemological fragment beginning with Xenophanes, entitled Διδύμου ἐκ τοῦ Περί αἰρέσεων;
6. *Ecl.* 2.7.1–4 untitled introductory discussion on ethics, containing διαιρέσεις by Philo of Larissa and Eudorus, followed by chapters on three ethical subjects, and including copious references to philosophers, esp. Plato and Aristotle (= ethical doxography A);¹³⁰
7. *Ecl.* 2.7.5–12 synopsis of Stoic ethics entitled Ζήνωνος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Στωικῶν δόγματα περὶ τοῦ ἠθικοῦ μέρους τῆς φιλοσοφίας (= Ethical doxography B);
8. *Ecl.* 2.7.13–26 synopsis of Peripatetic ethics entitled Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Περιπατητικῶν περὶ τῶν ἠθικῶν (= Ethical doxography C);
9. *Flor.* 4.39.28 brief excerpt on εὐδαιμονία entitled ἐκ τῆς Διδύμου Ἐπιτομῆς identical to *Ecl.* 2.7.17 (and so furnishing the basis of Meineke's source theory).¹³¹

A further aspect of the Meineke-Diels hypothesis that has long won acceptance was the identification of this Arius Didymus with the Stoic philosopher and confidant of Augustus, Arius of Alexandria (c. 70 to c. 5 BCE), whom we know originally was included in Diogenes Laertius' *Vitae philosophorum*.¹³² During the last 15 years there has been a gradual recognition that the hypothesis has its shaky aspects, but no direct challenge was mounted.¹³³

¹³⁰ The useful naming of the three ethical doxographies as A, B and C was introduced by Hahm (1990); it is fast becoming standard.

¹³¹ Though in part anticipated by Heeren; see above Ch. 1, n. 128.

¹³² The evidence at Diels *DG* 80–88; for the political context see Bowersock (1965) 33–5; detailed examination by Hahm (1990) 3035–47, who weighs up all the evidence for identification of Augustus' friend and the doxographer and concludes that the best argument is that of 'simplicity of hypothesis'. There are a few other philosophers called Didymus (cf. Goulet (1989–94) 2.767–770), but none with the name Areios/Arius. The *Souda* mentions (Δ 871) an Academic philosopher named Δίδυμος Ἀττικός ἢ Ἀττιος, whom various scholars before Diels unconvincingly identified with Arius Didymus; cf. above Ch. 1, n. 162 and Göransson (1995) 212. On the mention of an Arius in the *index locupletior* of DL book VII on the Stoics, see Diels *DG* 81, Mansfeld (1986b) 310ff., Dorandi (1992). We cannot be certain that he received his own βίος. Arius' *floruit* was too late for him to be included in Philodemus' *Stoicorum historia*, now edited by Dorandi (1994).

¹³³ See the evaluatory articles by Kahn (1983) 3–13, Hahm (1990). Both concentrate primarily on the ethical doxographies.

This has now come in the form of two chapters in a fresh and incisively written monograph by Tryggve Göransson.¹³⁴ The Swedish scholar argues that the identification with the Stoic Arius is unsound, because the direct references to the doxographer listed above *always* use the identificatory name Didymus, but this name is *never* used for Arius the court philosopher.¹³⁵ We thus lose our chronological anchor for the doxographer and can only locate him at some time between the mid-first cent. BCE and Eusebius. This chronological uncertainty is exacerbated if we accept his argument that the fragment on Plato's ideas (text 1 above), of which an almost *verbatim* parallel is found in Alcinous, is not the latter's source—as has been generally accepted since Diels¹³⁶—but rather is based on this same text.¹³⁷

Göransson's point is well taken, even if it may not be quite as strong as he thinks it is. What he has done is forcefully remind us of the *hypothetical* character of the identification of the doxographer with the Stoic court philosopher. It cannot be taken *as a fact* that the two are the same person, as has been universally done since Diels and Zeller. Nevertheless, just as one can argue *nomina non reducenda*, so one can reply *entia non multiplicanda*. The simplicity of the Meineke-Diels hypothesis retains a certain persuasive force.¹³⁸ The only way forward is to look closer at the

¹³⁴ Göransson (1995) 182–226. He emphasizes in his Introduction (26) that he is not presenting a philosophical study. His methods are expressly philosophical, i.e. he looks at the formal features of texts and esp. at the coherence and plausibility of scholarly theories that try to establish relations between texts and, on this basis, between individual philosophers. Such relations are of course prominent in the Meineke-Diels hypothesis on Arius Didymus.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* 211–218. As he points out (and we too have noted above Ch. 1, n. 164), this argument was already put forward by Heine (1869).

¹³⁶ See the double columns at *DG* 447. Diels is writing just before Freudenthal launched his theory, (1879), that Alcinous was really the 2nd century Platonist Albinus. After that it was generally accepted that Albinus was dependent on Arius Didymus the Stoic; see esp. Witt (1937) 95–103 and Dillon (1977) 269, who both assume that much in Albinus' handbook was taken over from Arius Didymus. Freudenthal's identification has now been decisively rejected by Giusta (1960–61) and Whittaker (1977), (1990). The latter, (1990) 109, still assumes that Alcinous follows AD, but wisely adds 'la question risque d'être beaucoup plus compliquée'.

¹³⁷ Göransson (1995) 182–202. The philological argument that Alcinous' version is more coherent and thus more likely to be the source than the adaptation is not decisive. Moreover the date of Alcinous remains unclear; it is generally thought to be 2nd century CE, but an earlier date in the 1st century, is not impossible; cf. Dillon (1993) xiii, Sedley (1996) 300, n. 2.

¹³⁸ See Hahm cited above in n. 131, and the defence of the traditional

contents of the doxographies, but here the fact that—aside from the single Platonic fragment—we only have Stoic and Aristotelian material is a real handicap.¹³⁹ Since the name Arius Didymus is certainly mentioned by Eusebius in texts (2) and (3), we feel justified in retaining it (and the abbreviation AD) in our following discussion.

Aside from the question of the identity of the author of the doxographies, the texts listed above give rise to a series of problems.¹⁴⁰

(i) The texts included in the hypothesis are not all of the same status. In the case of (1)–(3), (5) and (9) the name (Arius) Didymus ensures the author's identity (unless one were to posit more than one Didymus). In the case of (8) AD's authorship is demonstrated by (9). At least one of the fragments in (4) is proved to be Didymeian by the parallel in (3), to which we shall return below. This leaves two texts unaccounted for. The assignation of the survey of Stoic ethics (7) to AD, while not absolutely certain, is surely very probable, especially when it is followed by a survey of Aristotelian ethics which is, both from the viewpoint of style and method, very similar.¹⁴¹ This leaves one text, (6). Here we readily agree with Göransson that the fact that this doxography is organized in terms of subjects and not schools makes it *prima facie* unlikely that it comes from the same work as the other two accounts.¹⁴² As we shall see directly,¹⁴³ there is another formal dissimilarity which suggests a different provenance.

(ii) From how many different works is the Didymeian material drawn? Is the writing *Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων Πλάτωνι* (1) part of the larger work called the *Epitome*? This has been the standard view since Diels, and it is *a priori* not unlikely. If there is a work that

view in Inwood (1995).

¹³⁹ Note that Moraux (1973–84) 1.259–443 in his immensely thorough examination of the Aristotelian material, did not find any indications that the contents were later than the 1st century BCE. Admittedly his starting-point was the assumption of the Dielsian hypothesis. But he apparently found nothing that made a later date mandatory.

¹⁴⁰ See, in addition to the studies cited above in n. 132, the judicious summaries at Moraux (1973–84) 1.268–71 and Gottschalk (1987) 1125–9, and the most recent *status quaestionis* at Göransson (1995).

¹⁴¹ As admitted by the rigorous Göransson (1995) 221.

¹⁴² See Göransson (1995) 221–226, where he briefly discusses the arguments of Giusta (1986) and Hahn (1990) in defence of the Didymeian authorship.

¹⁴³ See below p. 259f.

contains material on both the Stoa and the Peripatos, then the exclusion of the Academy would certainly be unexpected.¹⁴⁴ What about the work mentioned in (5) entitled *Περὶ αἰρέσεων*. Is it the same, or a different work, or is it the work of which the *Epitome* is a reduced version?

(iii) If the *Epitome* was confined to three schools, how was it arranged: first by schools, then by topics (i.e. logic, physics, ethics), or *vice versa*? Diels argued strongly for the former, but his clinching argument based on the wording at the beginning of the long extract on Stoic physics is not as strong as he thought.¹⁴⁵

(iv) What are the correlations between method and sources that one can make between (α) the two accounts of physics and the two accounts of ethics, and (β) the two Stoic accounts and the two Peripatetic accounts? Since the ethical material is much better preserved, it may help us in our investigation of the physical fragments.

(v) Finally, to what extent has S himself intervened in the presentation of his excerpts? Do any of the parallels between Eusebius and Stobaeus give us information of this crucial subject? Von Arnim argued that in the case of the Stoics the ethical part was not completely written out because it generally lacks the detailed references to philosophers and their works found in the physical fragments.¹⁴⁶ But this begs the question we have just raised in (iv).¹⁴⁷ Besides deletions there can also be insertions. Are these limited to organisatory phrases, or could they involve matters of content?¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ There is no evidence to suggest that Epicurus and his school were included. He is briefly mentioned in the fragment from the *Περὶ αἰρέσεων*. His school is briefly referred to at 2.46.18 on the *telos*, but this belongs to Doxography A.

¹⁴⁵ For two reasons. (1) The words *Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἠθικῶν ἐξῆς ποιήσομαι τὸν ὑπομνηματισμὸν* (2.57.15) do appear to indicate that AD is treating ethics in the context of Stoic doctrine; but allowance has to be made for the possibility of intervention of S. For example, after the word *ἠθικῶν* may have come the words *(τοῦ) Ζήνωνος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Στωικῶν*, which S used for his title and so have may have been left out of the excerpt. (2) The closing words at 116.15ff. can support both constructions. The argument is accepted by Göransson (1995) 221.

¹⁴⁶ Von Arnim (1903-05) 1.xlii.

¹⁴⁷ Moreover this argument needs to be considerably qualified, as emerges in our analysis below, p. 257ff.

¹⁴⁸ Kenny's suggestion, (1978) 22, that the pages on Aristotle's ethics at 50.11–52.12 have been inserted by S from another source is, given the

More questions have been asked than can be answered in the present context. It is to be expected that Göransson's provocative approach will stimulate fresh studies. Somewhat apodictically (but unavoidably given the controversies involved), we argue that, even if it cannot be considered certain that the *Epitome* strictly speaking belonged to the genre *Περὶ αἰρέσεων*,¹⁴⁹ it does share certain traits belonging to that literature that distinguish it from the Aëtian *Placita*. The difference, in a nutshell, is that A is more assertive and juxtapositional, AD more descriptive and concatenatory. A is organized entirely by topics: he habitually lists and contrasts *doxai* of very diverse philosophers on specific, very well defined subjects. AD is structured in the first place by schools, then by subject areas, and finally by a logical sequence of themes. This does not prevent him from at certain points—as it would seem—drawing attention to differences of opinion on the issues within a school itself (a practice that also occurs in the so-called *laudationes* in Diogenes Laertius¹⁵⁰). There are a number of texts in AD which clearly show a strong interest in the aspect of doctrinal succession, i.e. how doctrines of a school were passed on or modified in succeeding generations of philosophers, a theme which falls outside A's scope of interest.¹⁵¹

In what now follows we shall concentrate our discussion on a limited section of the uncontested and contested remains of Arius Didymus' *œuvre*, namely the physical fragments listed under (3) above (with excursions to the other documents only for purposes of comparison). It is this material that is directly relevant for the Aëtian question. As we have already noted, in the *DG* Diels attempted to separate the Aëtian and Didymean fragments. The latter were collected in an edition that has been the point of reference ever since.¹⁵² From this limited perspective

anthologist's method (not discussed), rather unlikely.

¹⁴⁹ As argued by Mejer (1978) 76ff.

¹⁵⁰ Esp. in book VII; cf. Mejer (1978) 5–6, Mansfeld (1986b) 330ff. (on the example of the ethical τέλος with parallels in AD (? = Dox. A), Cicero, Clement).

¹⁵¹ Except in the chapter on principles, = P 1.3, where it was traditional. Cf. also the mention of Metrodorus as Epicurus' pupil at P 2.1.1, but no doctrinal difference is noted. A is interested in differences between Stoics, but not in the successional aspect thereof.

¹⁵² *DG* 449–72. For example Moraux (1973–84) 1.276–305 analyses the Peripatetic physical fragments collected by Diels without even discussing the methodology used to identify them. Göransson (1995) 220 states: 'The

we now examine five different aspects of the relation between A and AD.

(a) distinguishing between A and AD

First we shall review the criteria by means of which it is possible to sift out the material from AD that S has included among his collection of *placita*. The list of eight characteristics that follows will allow the two groups of texts to be separated. It is clear that our list takes as its point of departure the ten criteria which Diels outlined in his rigorous and admirably succinct analysis.¹⁵³ It would seem better, however, to draw up a new and revised list, in which his results are incorporated rather than repeat his list *more scholastico* and comment on each of his criteria individually. The chief difference is that, unlike Diels we shall exclude any considerations that are based wholly on content.¹⁵⁴ It needs to be emphasized that these criteria are generalizations, and that for each one there are exceptions possible. Ideally every lemma found in our sources should be individually analysed, a tedious and time-consuming task. In his *DG* Diels did little more than present the results of his analyses, so often the reasons for his decisions need to be divined.

1. The lemmata of AD are often longer than those of A, not only because they enter into more detail, but also because they often combine more than one topic. For example some of the longest lemmata in A are found on the subject Περὶ τάξεως τοῦ κόσμου (cf. P 2.7), e.g. Parmenides at S 1.22.1^a, Philolaus at 1^d. But they are not even half the length of Chrysippus' long exposé at S 1.21.5 (= AD fr. 31 Diels) on the nature and structure of the cosmos. Because AD treats a number of topics together in a continuous exposé, his fragments often have a more fluent and

criteria by which Diels sifted the Didymus material from the excerpts from Aëtius are perhaps not as indisputable as they have been regarded every since.' No doubt he is especially thinking of Diels' criterion of a certain Stoicizing flavour (*DG* 75).

¹⁵³ *DG* 73–5.

¹⁵⁴ I.e. Diels' last three criteria. Diels argues that AD uses Stoic terminology in describing Aristotelian doctrine, but he is certainly here influenced by his conviction that AD is the *Stoic* Arius. The criterion of a direct use of Aristotle's *Meteorologica* can only be verified as part of a thorough examination of the meteorology of A's book III, which we hope to give in a subsequent volume.

discursive style than the compact and sometimes crabbed style of A. There are, however, two further complicating factors. Some of the fragments attributed by Diels to AD are so short that the above remarks can hardly be applied. Moreover we have to take into account that S in his coalescing of various chapters in A also groups together subjects that A kept apart. This means that the combinations of AD have to be distinguished from the coalescences of S. This is by no means a straightforward procedure.

2. The standard formula of A's *Placita* is to have the *doxa* immediately follow the name-label, whereby the verb of assertion is generally understood (occasionally φησί, ἔφη or ἀπεφάνηατο is included). The topic, which is always given in the chapter-title, is sometimes repeated in the first lemma and thereafter it too is generally understood. Sometimes, however, it is even omitted in the opening lemma. Such procedures come much less naturally to AD because he, as far as we can tell, did not have chapter titles¹⁵⁵ and also makes less use of name-labels. Among the fragments of AD in S four different types of lemmata can be observed: (a) those which follow the usual style of the *Placita*, i.e. have the name-label in the nominative at the beginning; (b) those which have the name-label only in the genitive, without a direct grammatical relation to the contents of the lemmata; (c) those which have the name of the philosopher in the nominative but not at the beginning; (d) those which have the name-label in another case, e.g. accusative in *oratio obliqua* or dative as in the text at 1.20.1^e quoted above. In the case of type (a) discrimination is difficult, but remodelling by S can in some cases be demonstrated, particularly by means of his use of characteristic introductory phraseology (e.g. verbs of saying or opining). Type (c) and (d) unambiguously reveal AD because such practices are never found in A.¹⁵⁶ Type (b) was regarded by Diels as furnishing a water-tight criterion, but the evidence in the mss. is less unambiguous than he thought.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ The title Περί τέλους at 2.45.11 may not be original, but added either by S or a scribe. See also above p. 242 and n. 142 on doubts as to whether Ethical doxography A in S can be ascribed to AD.

¹⁵⁶ If so, there are grounds for suspicion. The text at P 5.20 *ad init.* is almost certainly corrupt. The lemma at S 1.50.3 which starts κατὰ τοὺς Περιπατητικούς is attributed to A by Diels *DG* 394, but may well derive from AD.

¹⁵⁷ On this problem see Hense (1916) 2565, who makes clear that this criterion is vulnerable to the interventions of scribes and editors, and so

3. When S arranges the excerpts he has collected, he often has to add introductory phrases of his own in order to make necessary connections. For example in ¶15 Περὶ σχημάτων he wants to quote *Tim.* 33b on the sphericity of the cosmos. So he adds the words (145.9–11): Πλάτων ἔφησε σφαιροειδῆ τὸν κόσμον ὑπάρχειν. λέγει γὰρ οὕτως ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ. We may be fairly certain that there was no such *doxa* in A.¹⁵⁸ In a number of cases (including this example, as will become clear below), S uses introductory verbs not found in P, a fact which makes his intervention very probable.

4. In the case of AD, because S is taking excerpts from a continuous exposé, they frequently contain δέ as connecting particle. In the ethical *doxai* there are very few lemmata without some kind of connective.¹⁵⁹ In A, on the other hand, the particle is usually only used directly after the name-label if he wants to make a deliberate contrast (see examples at P 1.22, 1.24, 2.3, in all three cases the 2nd lemma). A third possibility, suggested by the text from ¶15 just cited, is that S feels no need for a connecting particle when he himself inserts introductory connecting phrases.

5. Because the two authors report the views of others, they both make extensive use of indirect speech. But they reveal opposite tendencies. AD uses indirect speech almost incessantly. His compendium must surely have been a pain to read. Of the forty fragments in Diels' collection only a handful contain material cast in direct speech.¹⁶⁰ A in contrast often prefers not to linger too long in indirect speech. Examples of lemmata in A where he reverts to direct speech are: P 1.3 at 876F2 and 877F3, P 1.5 at 879B9, P 2.12 at 888C5 (= S 1.23.3), P 2.20 (= S 1.25.3^d), etc. The entire (exceptionally) long passage in P 3.5 at 894B–E is cast in *oratio recta* until for the briefer *doxai* of the Presocratics at the end he returns to *oratio obliqua*.¹⁶¹

6. Detailed comparison of the adaptation of A by P and S respectively is often revealing. P tends to abridge by simply

needs to be handled with care.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. P 2.2, 886B and S 1.15.6b. If the *doxa* was in A, then both sources must have changed the label from Plato and the Stoics to the Stoics only. This is less likely than that S added the *doxa* from his own knowledge, as he often does in the case of Plato.

¹⁵⁹ One example at 2.57.18. There are a number of examples in *Dox. A.*, e.g. at 39.20, 49.8, 50.11, 52.10, 52.13, 56.8. But see text above to n. 142.

¹⁶⁰ E.g. frs. 2, 3, 39.

¹⁶¹ This criterion, we note, was not made explicit by Diels.

deleting whole lemmata or (less often) by abbreviating longer lemmata. This means he most often retains the original order in A. Comparison of S with P can reveal that S has replaced A with material drawn from AD. For example in S's chapter *Περὶ ἰδεῶν*, parallel to P 1.10, he changes the order from Plato Aristotle Stoics to Aristotle Plato Stoics.¹⁶² This, together with the fact that the contents of the lemmata are quite different, makes clear that he has inserted the fuller reports of AD (including the passage also found in Eusebius).

7. S tends to begin his chapters with material from A, and group the excerpts from AD towards the end. This characteristic is hardly surprising in light of the fact that he (and the *Placita* in general) rather often begin with Presocratic philosophers, who hardly occur in AD's physical fragments.¹⁶³ There are also cases, however, where Diels has located fragments from AD right in the middle of a series of *doxai* from A (e.g. 1.14.1^c, 25.1ⁱ). For the brief Chrysippean lemma at 1.8.40^b this must be the case, since, as Diels acutely saw, the sentence is repeated at 1.8.42 (at 106.6). In other cases, however, one should be suspicious.

8. Since, to the best of our knowledge, the physical fragments of AD are confined to material on Aristotle and the Stoics (apart from the solitary fragment on Plato just referred to above¹⁶⁴), it is these name-labels which must arouse suspicion. It is striking that the presentation of the views of various members of the Stoic school in S is very rich, whereas in A as found in P the divergence in Stoic *doxai* is much more limited. It is probable that this was the result of P's efforts at abridgement, i.e. he replaced the names of individual Stoics with the generic name-label. On the basis of the independent evidence in Eusebius we may be certain that AD repeatedly drew attention to the contributions of individual Stoics.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² The reason for the change is rather obscure. See our not very flattering suggestion above at p. 225.

¹⁶³ Heraclitus is twice incidentally mentioned in relation to the Stoic doctrine of the soul at Eus. *PE* 15.20.2–3 (= fr. 39 Diels). Also, of course, Xenophanes at *Ecl.* 2.1.17 cited above on p. 240.

¹⁶⁴ As we shall see below in §8, Stobaeus mostly prefers to quote Plato in the original.

¹⁶⁵ See the quote cited below on p. 261. Note that we are not basing our argument on any assumption that AD himself was a Stoic.

These eight criteria, which almost exclusively concentrate on formal and stylistic features, are available for the separation of the two sources.¹⁶⁶ The result attained by Diels when he attempted to fish the fragments out of S's well-stocked pond (his metaphor, *DG* 75) was a collection of 64 lemmata of greatly varying length,¹⁶⁷ nearly all of which are correspondingly labelled in Wachsmuth's text. Diels cautiously stated that his collection was not definitive and might contain errors,¹⁶⁸ adding that the reader will be warned of difficulties in the apparatus to his reconstruction. In a footnote he appended the remark that he believed that 'scraps from Didymus were mixed in' and cites six Aëtian passages.¹⁶⁹ This remark is not very precise, and might be mistakenly taken to mean that material from Arius Didymus was excerpted *by Aëtius*. What he wants to say is that in the case of some texts (all of which we shall examine below), Stobaeus has coalesced together material from both sources in a single lemma. Since Wachsmuth the scope and extent of the collection has to our knowledge never been reexamined.¹⁷⁰ There are of course two possibilities: either Diels has included material that should not be there, or he has failed to include material that should. Both possibilities need to be examined.

(b) Additions to Diels' collection

The following texts in Stobaeus, which include the six of Diels' footnote, deserve to be considered for inclusion among the physical fragments of AD.

¹⁶⁶ We repeat that we have not included criteria based solely on content. See above n. 154.

¹⁶⁷ *DG* 447–472; the fragment appended at 854 may be considered fr. 41.

¹⁶⁸ *DG* 75: 'neque tantum vereor ne quid falso in syllogon receperim quantum ne omnia.'

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* n. 2: 'frustula ex Didymo admixta credo I 7 31 18 6 23 2 III 1 7 2 3 7 4.'

¹⁷⁰ Both the numbering and the order of the existing collection is unsatisfactory. A new collection should be made. Since so little is known about the original source, we would advocate a numbering based on the order of appearance in S's excerpts. See further Runia (1996) 379–81.

1. ¶1.29^b, 39.9–16 Wachsmuth: Plato. The second half of S's lemma is not found at P 1.7, 881E. Diels, noting the Stoicizing flavour of the phrase λόγοι ἀσώματοι, surmised that this section might come from AD. This supposition is almost certainly wrong. The lemma must be interpreted in relation to four surrounding lemmata with differing fortunes in the sources:

Xenocrates	only in S
Plato	short in P, long in S
Aristotle	long in P, short in S(!)
Stoics	identical in P and S
Epicurus	identical in P and S

These five lemmata have a formal feature in common, viz. that in answering the question τίς ἐστὶν ὁ θεός they list a hierarchy of gods at various levels, beginning with the highest god (the same feature also occurs in the well-known doxographies in Cicero *ND* 1.25–41 and Philodemus *On Piety* printed in parallel columns by Diels in *DG* 531–50). This common feature suggests that the lemmata all come from the same document, which in S must be A rather than AD. P commonly abbreviates longish lemmata in A. It is unusual for S to abbreviate the Aristotelian lemma; he does this because he will later in the same chapter cite a long quote from the *De mundo*, the authenticity of which he does not doubt.

The final part of the Xenocratean lemma has two features which might suggest derivation from AD. (1) As we saw earlier (above p. 233) the formula ἀπέσκειν plus dative is common in AD but found only once in A (at 5.29.1, where it is used to introduce an additional comment, just as happens here). (2) The final remark that Xenocrates handed a Platonic doctrine down to the Stoics is more in the style of AD than A (cf. again the fragment to be cited below on p. 261). We note, however, that occasionally A does give information about provenance and appropriation of doctrines, e.g. at 1.3 877D–F on Epicurus and Democritus. Moreover we have no idea whether AD's treatment of Plato also took developments in the Academy into account.

2. ¶13.1^b, 138.9–12: Aristotle. Diels *DG* 64 with great confidence declared that P was wrong in associating Pythagoras and Aristotle on the question of causes (P 1.11.3) and that S, who has separate lemmata for both thinkers, conveys the true picture of the original A. But it is he who is almost certainly wrong. The opening words Ἀριστοτέλης ἔφησεν provides a first clue. As we noted above (p. 232) the verb in this formula is indicative of Stobaeian intervention. It is never found in A, but does occur in 5 fragments of AD as collected by Diels: cf. frs. 20, 21, 26, 34, 35. In all cases but the third it stands at the beginning of the excerpt, i.e. where the anthologist has to cover the traces of his excerpting. In the longer ethical passages from AD in book II of S it is not found at all. The use of the formula may thus with some confidence be taken to be S's work (note also the example cited above at n. 158), and so supports the hypothesis that S has inserted a fragment from AD. The formulation as found in S is rather clumsy; both Heeren and Meineke wanted to emend it. If there were originally two lemmata in A, then there is an

awkward dilemma: either Aristotle preceded Pythagoras, in which case one would have expected a contrast between Plato τριχῶς and Aristotle τετραχῶς; or Aristotle succeeded Pythagoras, resulting in interference with the διαφωνία between Pythagoras and the Stoics on the materiality of causes. We note too that in S the Aristotelian lemma is followed by three others from AD, of Zeno, Chrysippus, Posidonius; similar sequences are found in ¶8.40–42, 11.4–5, 12.1–2, 17.2–4, 25.4–15. In short both P's and S's arrangements make much more sense if this fragment is assigned to AD.

3. ¶14.1^e, 142.1–7: Chrysippus. Diels placed this in A's equivalent of P 1.16 on account of the subject matter and because it follows fairly soon after the Aristotelian lemma from the same chapter (certainly from A since in P). But that lemma is placed there because of coalescence (joined with 3rd lemma of P's 1.12), and it is followed by a lemma from AD. The formula ὁ δεῖν ἔφασκε is not found in P. It does occur twice in S, here and at 1.15.6^a (as noted above p. 233 and see next text). Both the verb and the absence of a connecting particle suggest Stobæan intervention (see our remarks above on the 4th criterion). More importantly the lemma seems otiose in P's (and A's) 1.16, which appears to have a simple systematic structure A B A–B, with the third, Aristotelian, lemma inserted as a compromise between the other two positions. Note too how the subject treated in the Chrysippean fragment is much broader than the theme of A's chapter. These considerations all point to AD as the source.

4. ¶15.6^a, 146.13–21. This group of five brief lemmata is problematic. Diels included all 5 in his reconstruction of A 1.14. Certainly the short Zenonian lemma at the end seems misplaced. Diels thought it belonged to 1.12 but printed it in 1.14 because of its location in S. The formula Ζήνων ἔφασκε once again points to AD or rather S's adaptation of AD. A difficulty here is that we might have expected the fragment to have been taken from fr. 23 Diels, which discusses Zeno's views on the motion and weightlessness of fire, but it is not found there. The association with the previous Cleanthean lemma which also deals with fire is clumsy but transparent. But this lemma too is problematic. Its position in the Aëtian chapter is not impossible, but one would sooner expect it after the second lemma οἱ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου. It is in fact possible that this lemma too comes from AD, but there simply no way to decide. Note finally that the Zenonian lemma is repeated in the mss. at 1.15.6^e in the middle of a quite different lemma (at 147.22). This would seem to confirm that it is a *Fremdkörper*, but an ascription to AD is, all things considered, too risky.

5. ¶18.1^c, 156.15–25: Aristotle. A real puzzle. The entire lemma in S appears to consist of three parts: (i) a quote on the Pythagoreans contained ἐν τετάρτῳ Φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως (= lines 8–11); (ii) another quote, this time not *verbatim*, but also concerning the Pythagoreans, located ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Πυθαγόρου φιλοσοφίας πρώτῳ (= 11–15); (iii) further *doxai* on space and void introduced καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις λέγει... (= 15–25). Diels rightly suspected some of this material may have come from AD, but printed the entire passage in A nevertheless! But we can fairly sure that the lemma as a whole does *not* belong together. Both (i) and (ii) deal with the extra-

cosmic void, whereas (iii) discusses place and void in quite general terms, without any cosmological reference. Moreover between (ii) and (iii) the account clearly passes from the views of Aristotle on the Pythagoreans to those of Aristotle himself (although this is not explicitly stated). It is thus logical to conclude that there is break between (ii) and (iii). The style of the third part of the lemma points to AD (note the use of indirect speech). A further hint is supplied by the fact that S has deleted a lemma on Aristotle's views on space in P 1.19. Do the first two parts of the lemma come from A or AD? It is certainly unusual for A to have a lemma containing two complete references, but there are about 15 texts in which he does refer to writings with greater or lesser accuracy (conveniently listed in Runia (1992a) 122–3). The possibility that S added the learned references is also not so likely because elsewhere he does not cite the Aristotelian corpus or lost works (preferring to use the *De mundo*). The references also do not fit easily into AD's work, which—as far as we know—did not deal with Pythagorean philosophy directly. These considerations point to the conclusion that the first two parts of the lemma come from A and the third part from AD. On the other hand it should be recognized that the differences between P and S in the first part cannot be readily explained on this hypothesis.¹⁷¹

6. ¶19.1, 162.19–163.14: Aristotle. Once again Diels thought there might be Arian material in this lemma, but nevertheless printed it as part of his reconstruction of A 1.23. Wachsmuth shows the same vacillation, printing it as A but adding in the apparatus *haec fort. rectius Ario tribuas*. There can be no doubt, however, that, had Diels followed his own criteria, he would have concluded that the entire lemma was from AD. Not only is it very long, but it replaces a very short lemma in P and occurs at the end of the sequence. It is most perplexing that Diels should have printed this piece as part of A. Perhaps he was swayed by the fact that it starts with the name in the nominative, as is usual in A, and is not preceded by the name in the genitive. But the ms. P does add 'Αριστοτέλ (sic) in the margin. These genitives, as argued above, are not a reliable criterion.

7. ¶27.7, 226.21–26: Aristotle. Diels in his reconstruction of A 3.1 (DG 365) states that he thinks the second part of the lemma in S is Arian since it disagrees with P and is clearly excerpted from *Meteor.* 1.8 346a19ff. He did not, however, include this section in his collection. This passage is the only place in the whole chapter where P and S disagree. We note the use of *oratio obliqua*, even though the second word of the additional section is γάρ. It is to be concluded that S has added an excerpt from his reading of AD to A.

8. ¶28.1^a, 227.17–21: Aristotle. Again the text for A 3.2 in P and S is identical except for the additional Aristotelian material. Diels suspected that it came from AD. Wachsmuth *ad loc.* disagreed, arguing that, since the material conflicts with views expressed in the *Meteorologica*, it is

¹⁷¹ See the pertinent comments of Algra (1993) 484f., who tentatively suggests that it may have been contaminated with material from the Posidonius lemma in the parallel chapter at P 2.9.

better to assume a lacuna and attribute the *doxa* to Posidonius. From the formal viewpoint, however, the clues clearly point to AD, not only because of the remaining parallelism between P and S, but also on account of the similarity to S 1.29.1, where the extract on Aristotle from AD (= fr. 12 Diels) has a string of subjects introduced with the exactly the same formula *τινὰς δὲ ὅταν* plus subjunctive (admittedly it also occurs occasionally in A, e.g. in the Democritean lemma in the same chapter). It is possible that there is a lacuna in the text or that S made a mistake and added a Stoic fragment from AD to an Aristotelian lemma. It is also possible that AD had an alternative source for Peripatetic meteorological theory.

9. ¶32, 248.7–11: Aristotle. Once again the fact that two explanations of the origin of winds are given in the same lemma indicates that S has coalesced two views, the first from A, the second from AD; cf. Diels *DG* 375, accepted by Wachsmuth *ad loc.* But again the fragment is not found in his collection.

The results so far are quite striking: *at least seven fragments should be subtracted from A and added to AD.* Six relate to Aristotle, the seventh to Chrysippus. Diels does his reader a disservice by including them in the reconstruction of A, especially because he creates the impression—most blatantly in the case of the Aristotelian lemma in his reconstruction of A 1.23—that A contained more long and detailed lemmata than in actual fact was the case. It also meant that these texts are missing in his fragment collection of AD.

At this point we should note that four of the above texts (nos. 5, 7–9) shed valuable light on the technique of coalescence that S used to weld his doxographical material together. It appears that he not only merges lemmata from different chapters of A, but also is prepared to join together in the same lemma material from both A and AD (Diels recognized this in a number of texts on Aristotle, though the presentation in Wachsmuth tends to conceal it: cf. 14.1^c, 22.1^c, 24.1^m, 27.7). This means, we believe, that we should be on our guard in the case of other longish lemmata which Diels attributes wholly to A. We wish to consider three further texts which form part of Diels' reconstruction of A 1.25–29. These chapters are highly complex, and many of Diels' solutions, taken over by Wachsmuth in his edition of S, are rather questionable.

10. ¶5.15, 79.12–20: Chrysippus. The lemma on εἰμαρμένη in its entirety would appear to be on the long side for A. From the beginning to γενήσεται P (at 1.29 885B) and S run fairly parallel (though P has shortened the reference to Chrysippus' works). The text from μεταλαμβάνει to ἐπιβολάς is probably also Aëtian, since it continues the theme of

Chrysippean diversity of terminology. But the following words *μοίρας* *δέ* introduce a break in thought. Moreover the style, with reversion to *oratio obliqua* and the sequence of single nouns followed by explanatory phrases, reflects the more descriptive, cataloguing style of AD.

11. ¶ 6.17a, 87.23–88.6: Aristotle. Comparison of the sources and examination of Diels' double columns (*DG* 324–5) reveal a very complicated situation here: P's Aristotelian *doxa* (at 1.30 885C) can be divided into two parts (let us say K & L). S wishes to begin with the distinction between *τύχη* and *αὐτόματον* (cf. the title of his chapter), and so places that part of A's lemma (= L) first. He thus reverses the order of these two parts, separates them (by means of a Platonic lemma slightly longer than what is found in P) and adds sections (let us say M & N) to both. So S's lemma can be represented as L M–Plato–K N. The lemma in P makes good sense, as well as S's continuation *καὶ τὴν μὲν τύχην ... βουλευθέντος* (= M). But the passage with which S ends, *καὶ ὑποθέσεις ... τεταγμένοις* (N), is more discursive. It introduces various new elements (e.g. *ἀρχαί, τάξις, ἀταξία*). It also contains an entire sentence on *εἰμαρμένη* which seems quite out of place in this chapter. This mixing of themes is characteristic of AD rather than A. We conclude therefore that this final section (= 87.23–88.6 W.) is more likely to derive from AD than A.

12. ¶ 6.17c, 89.2–5: Theophrastus. If we wish to attribute the Aristotelian passage just dealt with to AD, we must also consider whether the Theophrastean lemma on the next page—in between S interposes an excerpt from Plato's *Laws*—is also derived from him, for it appears to continue the theme of causes discussed in the previous Aristotelian passage, i.e. Theophrastus is reported to add to the causes related to *εἰμαρμένη* that of *προαίρεσις* missing in Aristotle. A strong argument in favour of attribution to AD is the verb used, *προσδιαρθροῖ*. It recurs in a doxographical context in AD at *Ecl.* 2.76.1 (i.e. Ethical doxography B, which is certainly by AD), while elsewhere it occurs only twice in the entire present version of the TLG! A lemma referring to Theophrastus would be unique in the physical fragments of AD that we have. But we note that he does occur in the Aristotelian-Peripatetic Ethical doxography C (at 2.140.7 W. = FGS&H fr. 449A). A revised attribution to AD would be consistent with the fact that in the rest of A Theophrastus only occurs as a *reporter* of Presocratic views (S 1.25.1b, on which see Runia (1992), and 1.26.3). The recent editors of Theophrastus' fragments have followed the Dielsian attribution to A (= FGS&H fr. 503). We consider that the clues point to AD.

The balance of probability, therefore, points to the conclusion that these three lemmata also derive from AD's compendium.

(c) Subtractions from Diels' collection

We turn now to the second category of doubtful cases, i.e. those lemmata which one might think of excising from Diels' fragment collection. This group is much smaller than the previous one.

13. ¶1.26, 31.12–14: Chrysippus. Diels included this short lemma of 3 lines on the names of Zeus (= fr. 30) because of a general similarity with an extract from AD on the Stoics found in Eus. *PE* 15.15.1–9. There we read that the cosmos is called Zeus because it is the cause of life. A similar connection of the accusative form Δία with the phrase δι' αὐτὸν πάντα is attributed to Chrysippus at Johannes Lydus *Mens.* 4.71 Wünsch (= *SVF* 2.1063, cf. *DL* 7.147). Here the context appears to be theological rather than cosmological. An argument against Diels' attribution is the fact that S does not use any further material from AD in this chapter. The fragment is in direct rather than indirect speech, but this is also the case for the similar statement in Eusebius. All in all it was wise of Wachsmuth to relegate Diels' attribution to the apparatus. The attribution of such a short fragment to AD is no more than an educated guess.

The remaining texts whose attribution is questionable are all found in frs. 33–34, where Diels has collected together various Stoic extracts on the sun and moon which he thinks S drew from AD rather than from A. Here his assumption that it is possible to separate the material from the sources—which we have taken over in this article—starts to crumble. Some of these fragments are so short that they are stylistically virtually indistinguishable from the telegram-like Aëtian lemmata coalesced together by S. A more complete treatment of the question would require that we make full reconstructions of A's sequence of chapters on the sun and moon. This is a task that awaits us in a subsequent volume.¹⁷² In the present context we will largely confine our remarks to stylistic and terminological considerations.¹⁷³

14. ¶25.5, 213.13–27: Zeno. We consider it most likely that this text is from AD. In the first place it combines information about the substance of sun and moon and other stars which A keeps well separate (and S does not coalesce together). Secondly it adds information about kinds of fire that would be difficult to place in A. Thirdly it combines information about the movement and eclipses of sun and moon, whereas in A these are dealt with in separate groups of chapters (which S coalesces in his chapters 1.25 and 1.26 respectively).

15. ¶25.5, 214.1–3: Chrysippus. This lemma is much more difficult precisely because it is so short. It is eminently possible that it represents two lemmata from A joined together. Three arguments favour Diels' attribution. (1) The lemma is placed towards the end of the chapter, and follows two long and indubitably Arian texts. (2) The rare term ἀναθυμίαμα is used for exhalation; this is also the case in the other Chry-

¹⁷² As stated in our Introduction, we intend to provide a *specimen reconstructionis* for the whole of Aëtius Book II. It will give us the opportunity to review the partial reconstructions already published in Runia (1989), (1992a).

¹⁷³ It should be noted that at this moment the authors find it difficult to reach agreement on all aspects of this question.

sippean text to be discussed below, whereas in A the term is ἀναθυμίασις (used at least a dozen times, cf. P 2.5 887A, 2.20 890A, 3.1 893A, etc.). (3) The same combination of substance and shape is found in the Chrysippean lemma in the next chapter, where it is complemented with an explanation and definition of the term ‘month’ which is very difficult to place in A. None of these arguments are decisive, but Diels should be given the benefit of the doubt.

16. ¶26.1ⁱ, 219.12–13: Zeno. As argued above (text no. 2), the formula Ζήνων ἔφησεν strongly suggests Stobaeian remodelling. Moreover the wording of the excerpt is almost identical with the Zenonian text from AD in the previous chapter (only the word ἄστρον is added). Diels’ attribution is thus justified, even if not beyond all doubt.

17. ¶26.1ⁱ, 219.14–15: Cleanthes. Here the situation is quite desperate. From the formal point of view the two brief lemmata are identical with what we find in P, except that they are joined together. On grounds of content it has been argued elsewhere that the former derives from A.¹⁷⁴ Diels’ attribution is probably wrong, though it cannot conclusively be proven to be so.

18. ¶26.1ⁱ, 219.24–220.2: Chrysippus. As argued in the case of text 15 above, the clustering of lemmata here points to AD. Diels’ intuition should be followed.

The results of our examination may be summarized as follows: 10 excerpts should be subtracted from Diels’ reconstruction of A and regarded as belonging to AD. One text should be subtracted from his collection of AD’s fragments (fr. 30). In the case of frs. 33–34 the distribution of the five lemmata between A and AD is highly problematic and cannot in all cases be decided on stylistic grounds alone. If these results are accepted, we may conclude that S has included about 61 excerpts from Arius Didymus in Book I of his *Eclogae Physicae*.¹⁷⁵ Of these 1 deals with the Academy, 28 with the Peripatos, and 32 with the Stoa. If we look at the name-labels, we find the following distribution, taking the philosophers in approximately chronological order:

ACADEMY	
Plato ¹⁷⁶	1
PERIPATOS	
Aristotle	25
Aristotle and followers	1
Aristotelians	1
Theophrastus	1

¹⁷⁴ Runia (1989) 258.

¹⁷⁵ For a complete list of the physical fragments, including those found only in Eusebius, see now Runia (1996) 380f.

¹⁷⁶ We have not included the doubtful cases at 1.29^b.

STOA

Zeno	7
Zeno-Cleanthes-Chrysippus	1
Zeno & the Stoics ¹⁷⁷	1
Cleanthes	1
Chrysippus	13
Mnesarchus	1
Apollodorus	2
Panaetius	1
Posidonius	4
unattributed (= Stoics ¹⁷⁸)	1

Surprising in the first instance—and very disappointing for research into the origins of Middle Platonism—is the scant use of AD's account of Platonic doctrine. S prefers to turn to the *ipsissima verba*.¹⁷⁹ The amount of material used for the Aristotelian and Stoic schools is roughly equal, and adds greatly to the limited information furnished by A. But a striking difference between the two groups is immediately visible. In the case of the Peripatetic material all excerpts except three are attributed to Aristotle alone. Of his followers only Theophrastus is cited in one fragment. The Stoics, however, are never referred to as a group, except secondarily on one occasion.¹⁸⁰ S always differentiates individual members of the school in his excerpts from AD, whereas the extracts from A show the opposite tendency (exacerbated, as we saw above, by P).¹⁸¹ This patent difference brings us to the question of name-labels.

(d) use of name-labels and introductory verbs

That this difference in treatment just observed is not just the work of S but reflects the nature of his source is confirmed by a comparison with the extensive ethical extracts preserved in book II. The Aristotelian summary, amounting to some 36 pages of text, is entitled (116.19) Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Περιπατητικῶν περὶ

¹⁷⁷ Diels' emendation Ζήνωνος (καὶ τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ) at 136.21 is taken over by Wachsmuth. It is far from certain, though later in the lemma S uses the label οἱ Στωικοὶ φιλόσοφοι.

¹⁷⁸ ¶14.11, no name-label, but Diels and Wachsmuth regard it as Stoic; taken over by Von Arnim in *SVF* 2.327. In favour of the attribution is the fact that an extract from AD on Aristotle discussing the same subject is included earlier in the chapter (1^c).

¹⁷⁹ See the next section.

¹⁸⁰ See above n. 177.

¹⁸¹ See above p. 190 and n. 226.

τῶν ἠθικῶν. It begins without a name-label and with the solitary verb φησίν. Thereafter no names and just a few solitary verbs (e.g. εἶπον 131.14, φασί 134.9) occur, until at 140.7 we read φησὶν ὁ Θεόφραστος, which introduces an extract from Theophrastus.¹⁸² After this no more names or verbs are encountered. The Stoic summary has a corresponding title (57.12) **Ζήνωνος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Στωικῶν δόγματα περὶ τοῦ ἠθικοῦ μέρους τῆς φιλοσοφίας**. Its length is somewhat longer (50 pages). Although here too anonymous prose in indirect speech predominates, both verbs and name-labels are much more common. For purposes of comparison it will be worthwhile to list these fully (name-labels in bold face, 3rd person plural verbs and general references underlined):

57.18 ταῦτα εἶναί φησιν ὁ **Ζήνων**, ὅσα οὐσίας μετέχει

63.25 ὅμοιον γὰρ ἔλεγεν εἶναί ὁ **Παναίτιος**

64.13 διττῶς δέ φησιν ὁ **Διογένης**

64.18 φασί 65.12 φασί 65.15 δογματίζουσι 66.14 λέγουσι

67.7 κάλουσιν 67.9 λέγουσι 67.13 φασί 67.20 λέγουσι

68.8 φασί 68.13 φασί 68.18 ἔτι δέ λέγουσι 69.17 φασί (also

73.10, 75.8)

75.11–76.15 τὸ δὲ τέλος ὁ μὲν **Ζήνων** οὕτως ἀπέδωκε· ‘τὸ ὁμολογουμένως ζῆν’· τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶ καθ’ ἓνα λόγον καὶ σύμφωνον ζῆν, ὥς τῶν μαχομένως ζώντων κακοδαιμονούντων. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον προσδιαρθροῦντες¹⁸³ οὕτως ἐξέφερον ‘ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν’ ὑπολαβόντες ἔλαττον εἶναι κατηγορήματα τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ **Ζήνωνος** ρηθέν. **Κλεάνθης** γὰρ πρῶτος διαδεξάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν αἵρεσιν προσέθηκε ‘τῇ φύσει’ καὶ οὕτως ἀπέδωκε· ‘τέλος ἐστὶ τὸ ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν’. ὅπερ ὁ **Χρύσιππος** σαφέστερον βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι, ἐξήνεγκε τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· ‘ζῆν κατ’ ἐμπειρίαν τῶν φύσει συμβαινόντων’. **Διογένης** δέ· ‘εὐλογιστεῖν ἐν τῇ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐκλογῇ καὶ ἀπεκλογῇ’. **Ἀρχέδημος** δέ· ‘πάντα τὰ καθήκοντα ἐπιτελοῦντας ζῆν’. **Ἀντίπατρος** δέ· ‘ζῆν ἐκλεγόμενους μὲν τὰ κατὰ φύσιν, ἀπεκλεγόμενους δὲ τὰ παρὰ φύσιν διηνεκῶς’. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ οὕτως ἀπεδίδου· ‘πᾶν τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν ποιεῖν διηνεκῶς καὶ ἀπαραβάτως πρὸς τὸ τυγχάνειν τῶν προηγουμένων κατὰ φύσιν’.

77.1 ἡγοῦνται 77.16 φασί

77.20 τὴν δὲ εὐδαιμονίαν ὁ **Ζήνων** ὠρίσατο τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· εὐδαιμονία δ’ ἐστὶν εὐροια βίου. κέχρηται δὲ καὶ **Κλεάνθης** τῷ ὄρφ τούτῳ ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ συγγράμμασι καὶ ὁ **Χρύσιππος** καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τούτων πάντες, τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν εἶναι λέγοντες οὐχ ἑτέραν τοῦ εὐδαίμονος βίου, καίτοι γε λέγοντες...

78.7 λέγουσι (also 80.6) 80.9 φασί (also 81.20, 82.5)

84.4 τὴν δὲ δόσιν φησὶν ὁ **Διογένης** κρίσιν εἶναι

¹⁸² Fortenbaugh *et al.* (1992) fr. 449A, citing up to 142.13.

¹⁸³ This unusual verb we also noted in one of the additional physical fragments above (p. 254 n. 12).

84.23 ...**Ζήνωνος** ταύτας τὰς ὀνομασίας θεμένου πρώτου τοῖς πράγμασι. προηγμένον δ' εἶναι λέγουσιν...

90.7 λέγουσι (also 93.14, 95.9, 97.15, 98.7) 94.7 φασί (also 95.24, 96.10, 96.18)

98.20 .. μήδε τὴν ἀμεριαίαν ὁ **Χρύσιππος** φησι διαφέρειν τῆς τοῦ Διὸς εὐδαιμονίας...

99.3 ἀρέσκει γὰρ τῷ τε **Ζήνωνι** καὶ τοῖς **ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Στωικοῖς φιλοσόφοις** δύο γένη τῶν ἀνθρώπων...

100.15 τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι προσαγορεύουσιν. ἀγαθόν τε γὰρ λέγουσιν...

103.9 λέγουσι δὲ καὶ φυγάδα πάντα φαῦλον εἶναι... ἱκανῶς δὲ καὶ **Κλεάνθης** περὶ τὸ σπουδαῖον [misprint for σπουδαῖαν?] εἶναι τὴν πόλιν λόγον ἠρώτησε τοιοῦτον...

103.24 φασί 105.24 ἀρέσκει

107.14 περὶ δὲ εὐφροῦς, ἔτι δὲ εὐγενοῦς οἱ μὲν τῶν ἐκ τῆς αἰρέσεως ἐπηνέχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ λέγειν πάντα σοφὸν τοιοῦτον εἶναι, οἱ δ' οὐ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἴονται...

108.13 φασί (also 110.9, 113.3, 115.1) 109.1 λέγουσι (also 110.16, 115.5) 113.2 νομίζουσιν

116.11 περὶ γὰρ πάντων τῶν παραδόξων δογμάτων ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις ὁ **Χρύσιππος** διελέχθη· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Περὶ δογμάτων καὶ ἐν τῇ Ὑπογραφῇ τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς τῶν κατὰ μέρος συγγραμμάτων.

This evidence shows that in the ethical summary AD mostly presents undifferentiated school doctrine introduced by 3rd person plural verbs. Infrequently he lists developments or disagreements among members of the school (most notably the important account of definitions of the *telos*). On a number of occasions a single member of the school is introduced into the discussion—most often Zeno, but also Cleanthes, Chrysippus, Diogenes, Panaetius. Explicit *laudationes* with chapter and verse, however, scarcely occur (only in the final words of the account).

At this point we might briefly note that in the introductory section on ethics (= Doxography A¹⁸⁴), a number of explicit *laudationes* do occur in the sections on the *telos* and on goods and evils:

2.46.1: παρὰ δ' **Ὁμήρω** ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἰλιάδος δεκάτῳ.

2.47.4: **Πλάτων** δὲ διέστιξε πρώτος τὸ κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ βίον ἰδιάζον ἔν τε τῷ Τιμαίῳ κὰν τῷ Πρωταγόρῳ.

2.49.18: εἴρηται δὲ παρὰ **Πλάτωνι** κατὰ τὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας τριμερές, ἐν Τιμαίῳ μὲν φυσικῶς... ἐν δὲ τῇ Πολιτείᾳ ἠθικῶς· ἐν δὲ τῷ Θεαιτήτῳ λογικῶς· περιπέφρασται δὲ κὰν τῷ τετάρτῳ περὶ Νόμων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκολουθίας τοῦ θεοῦ σαφῶς ἅμα καὶ πλουσίως.

2.50.6: ὅτι δὲ τέλος αὐτὴν ἡγείται, τέταχεν ἐν Τιμαίῳ (εἰπὼν) καὶ τοῦνομα· φράσω δὲ καὶ τάκροτελεύτιον τῆς περιοχῆς· ἔχει δ' οὕτως·

¹⁸⁴ On the name see above n. 130.

2.52.9: ὥσπερ ὁ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ ὥρισατο

2.52.10: Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῶν Νικομαχείων Εὐδοξον τὸν ἀστρολόγον οἶται τέλος δογματίζειν τὴν ἡδονήν.

2.54.10: Πλάτων δὲ τοιαύτῃ χρῆται διαιρέσει, θήσω δὲ κατὰ λέξιν ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν Νόμων καὶ διὰ τὸ κάλλος τῆς φράσεως καὶ διὰ τὴν σαφήνειαν.

2.55.20: ταῦταις κέχρηται ταῖς διαστολαῖς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Νόμων μάλιστα κἀν τῷ Φιλήβῳ.

2.57.8: καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν οὗτος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χρήσεως ἀναφωνεῖ, Πλάτων δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς κτήσεως. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις καὶ ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ καὶ τισιν ἄλλοις ταῦτα κατακεχώρικεν, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος ἐν τοῖς Ἠθικοῖς.

It will be agreed that this style of citation is quite different to that found in the account of Stoic ethics, supporting the view that this anonymous section of the *Anthology* is drawn from a different source.¹⁸⁵

What then will the procedure have been in Arius Didymus' account of Stoic physics? It is most fortunate that we have some comparative material, against which we can judge S's praxis, namely the quotations in Eusebius, which we may assume to follow his normal practice and be almost entirely literal. Again we give a summary:

15.15.1 προσαγορεύουσι, φασί §3 φασί §7-8 ἡγεμονικὸν δὲ τοῦ κόσμου Κλεάνθει μὲν ἤρεσε τὸν ἥλιον εἶναι. διὰ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἄστρον ὑπάρχειν καὶ πλείστα συμβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων διοίκησιν, ἡμέραν καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ποιοῦντα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὥρας. τισὶ δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως ἔδοξε γῆν τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου, Χρυσίπῳ δὲ τὸν αἰθέρα τὸν καθαρώτατον καὶ εἰλικρινέστατον ἅτε πάντων εὐκίνητότατον ὄντα καὶ τὴν ὅλην περιάγοντα τοῦ κόσμου φορᾶν.

15.18.1 ἀρέσκει δὲ τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως ταύτης ἐξαίθεροῦσθαι πάντα... §2-3 ἐκ τούτων δὲ δήλον ὅτι Χρυσίππος ἐπὶ τῆς οὐσίας οὐ ταύτην παρείληφε τὴν σύγχυσιν· ἀδύνατον γάρ· ἄλλα τὴν ἀντὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς λεγομένην. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κατὰ περιόδους τὰς μεγίστας γινομένης φθορᾶς κυρίως παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν φθορὰν οἱ τὴν εἰς πῦρ ἀνάλυσιν τῶν ὅλων δογματίζοντες, ἦν δὴ καλοῦσιν ἐκπύρωσιν, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν μεταβολῆς χρῶνται τῇ προσηγορίᾳ τῆς φθορᾶς. ἀρέσκει γὰρ τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς φιλοσόφοις τὴν ὅλην οὐσίαν εἰς πῦρ μεταβάλλειν, οἷον εἰς σπέρμα, καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τούτου αὐτὴν ἀποτελεῖσθαι τὴν διακόσμησιν, οἷα τὸ πρότερον ἦν. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ πρεσβύτατοι προσήκοντο, Ζήνων τε καὶ Κλεάνθης καὶ Χρυσίππος. τὸν μὲν γὰρ τούτου μαθητὴν καὶ διάδοχον τῆς σχολῆς Ζήνωνά φασιν ἐπισχεῖν περὶ τῆς ἐκπύρωσεως τῶν ὅλων.

15.19.1 no verbs at all; the whole in direct speech.

15.20.1 τὸ δὲ σπέρμα φησὶν ὁ Ζήνων εἶναι ὁ μεθήσιν ἄνθρωπος πνεῦμα

¹⁸⁵ See above text at n. 142.

μεθ' ὕγροῦ... §2 περὶ δέ ψυχῆς **Κλεάνθης** μὲν τὰ Ζήνωνος δόγματα παρατιθέμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους φυσικοὺς φησιν ὅτι **Ζήνων** τὴν ψυχὴν λέγει αἰσθητικὴν ἀναθυμίασιν, καθάπερ Ἡράκλειτος... §4 φασί §6 λέγουσιν §7 λέγουσιν

This evidence reveals that in his account of physics AD generally followed the same method as in the ethical summary, but that he must have drawn more attention to points of difference or disagreement between individual members of the school.¹⁸⁶ This is also suggested by the fact that in S of the 38 Stoic excerpts only one is not attributed to a specific philosopher (and it has no title at all). Complete *laudationes* (i.e. with chapter and verse) remain fairly rare (four examples).¹⁸⁷

On two occasions we are privileged to be able to see S at work.

(i) Only once—regrettably—do Stobaeus and Eusebius quote the same passage. We place the two texts in double columns:¹⁸⁸

Eusebius PE 15.18.3

ἀρέσκει γὰρ τοῖς **Στωϊκοῖς** φιλοσόφοις τὴν ὅλην οὐσίαν εἰς πῦρ μεταβάλλειν, οἷον εἰς σπέρμα, καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τούτου αὐτὴν ἀποτελεῖσθαι τὴν διακόσμησιν, οἷα τὸ πρότερον ἦν. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ πρεσβύτατοι προσήκαντο, **Ζήνων** τε καὶ **Κλεάνθης** καὶ **Χρύσιππος**. τὸν μὲν γὰρ τούτου μαθητὴν καὶ διάδοχον τῆς σχολῆς **Ζήνωνά** φασιν ἐπισχεῖν περὶ τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως τῶν ὅλων.

Stobaeus Ecl. 1.20.1e

Ζήνωνι καὶ **Κλεάνθει** καὶ **Χρυσίπῳ** ἀρέσκει τὴν οὐσίαν μεταβάλλειν οἷον εἰς σπέρμα (εἰς) τὸ πῦρ, καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τούτου τοιαύτην ἀποτελεῖσθαι τὴν διακόσμησιν, οἷα πρότερον ἦν.

Παναίτιος πιθανωτέραν εἶναι νομίζει καὶ μᾶλλον ἀρέσκουσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀιδιότητα τοῦ κόσμου ἢ τὴν τῶν ὅλων εἰς πῦρ μεταβολήν.

Even without the parallel text in Eusebius we would suspect the Arian origin (names not in nominative, verb ἀρέσκει). But if we assume that Eusebius follows his usual practice and cites virtually

¹⁸⁶ Cf. on his method in ethics Mansfeld (1992a) 86.

¹⁸⁷ Works are mentioned of Apollodorus (105.8, 166.24) and Chrysippus (206.26 and 79.16, if this latter text is to be attributed to AD, as we argue above at p. 253f.).

¹⁸⁸ As did Diels *DG* 468. We have included Heeren's conjecture in the Stobaeian text. *Pace* Diels, it seems justifiable in the light of the repeated εἰς πῦρ in the last line.

verbatim,¹⁸⁹ then S's method here is very revealing. Not only has he replaced the name-label Στωικοῖς φιλοσόφοις with the three names noted by AD in the next sentence, but there is also considerable variation in the wording at a number of points (these cannot all depend on variants in the texts the two authors had). Of particular interest is the change from αὐτὴν τὴν διακόσμησιν to τοιαύτην τὴν διακόσμησιν. This looks suspiciously like a *Ver-schlimmbesserung* in the manner of G (S cannot imagine a cycle of *identical* worlds). It would seem that S has allowed himself a good deal of freedom in excerpting this text.

(ii) At ¶17.4, in the chapter Περί μίξεως καὶ κράσεως, S includes a long quote from Chrysippus, the beginning of which concentrates on πνεῦμα and has little to do with the subject. From Eus. *PE* 15.18.1, which patently continues the quote,¹⁹⁰ it is clear that the context is the change in the cosmic cycle, a subject which is not relevant to S's chapter. But in order to explain Chrysippus' theory of the conflagration AD adds a short section on the Stoic distinction between the terms παράθεσις, μίξις, κρᾶσις, σύγχυσις, and this is what S (who must have made a jotting) could use for his chapter. We may surmise that S starts the excerpt earlier than necessarily precisely so that it can start with the name of a well-known member of the school.

The fact that Eusebius preserves quite a number of 3rd person plurals and general references to the Stoics (underlined in the summary on p. 260f.), yet S in his 38 Stoic excerpts does not have a single general reference (see table above on p. 257) must make us a little suspicious. At 1.12.3 another AD text reads: Ζήνωνος. τὰ ἐννοήματα φασὶ μήτε τινὰ εἶναι μήτε ποιᾶ... For the discrepancy between singular name-label and the plural verb Diels and Wachsmuth suggest Ζήνωνος <καὶ τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ>. But this may well be a case where he has attached a more specific name-label than was directly warranted by AD's text. We have similar suspicions about excerpts such as ¶11.5^a, 19.4. In other cases use of the 'tell-tale' verbal forms ἔφησε and ἀπεφαίνετο strongly suggest that S

¹⁸⁹ Cf. our remarks above p. 134ff.

¹⁹⁰ A strange business. We had noted this independently, and then saw Diels' note at *DG* 468 'quae Eusebius his verbis praeteriit, suppleri possunt ex fr. 28'. If this is the case, why are the fragments so widely separated (= fr. 28 & 36)? Von Arnim *SVF* 2.471, 596 indicates no connection, and it is also ignored by Hahm (1977).

has reshaped the beginnings of the excerpts; cf. ¶8.40^c, 11.5^c, 18.4, 31.7.¹⁹¹ It is thus quite possible that in the case of some of the extracts from AD which look quite proper, S has added a more specific name-label than the actual text warranted. But in the absence of the original which S ‘cut up’, it is not possible to check the basis of these attributions. The least we can say that one should be very circumspect when there is a discrepancy between P and S on this issue, i.e. when P speaks about the Stoics in general and S distinguishes.

We may conclude that our detailed investigation of name-labels and introductory phrases has yielded clear insights into the anthologist’s method. The contents of the excerpts are left for the most part untouched, but in his arrangement of the material, and especially in his introductory phraseology (including name-labels) he permitted himself considerable liberties. We should be on our guard.

(e) choice of subjects where AD is used

For which subjects, then, does S think it worthwhile to turn to his the alternative source. A subdivision based on the subjects of the five Aëtian books can be made as follows:

P	S	subject	
Book I	¶1–20	principles	41 excerpts
Book II	¶21–26	cosmology	12 excerpts
Book III	¶27–39	meteorology	8 excerpts
Book IV	¶48–60	psychology	6 excerpts
Book V	¶42–46	physiology	0 excerpts

This picture would no doubt change to some extent if we had a complete record of the Didymea used by S in ¶31–60. Nevertheless one conclusion is clear, namely the marked concentration on the subject of *principia*, i.e. the area covered by A’s first book. As we saw, A even uses material for this purpose that in AD was originally placed in a cosmological context.¹⁹² This strongly suggests that the material offered by A on principles in book I was not abundant, apart from the two long chapters on the ἀρχαί (P 1.3) and theology (1.7). It is noteworthy that in his two chapters

¹⁹¹ See our discussion of ‘introductory phraseology’ above on p. 231ff.

¹⁹² See above p. 262 on ¶17.3–4; note that also some of A’s cosmological material has been shifted to chapters on the *principia*.

dealing with these themes (1.1, 1.10) S includes only one certain excerpt from AD (§10.16c).

(f) disagreement and deviation

Finally a word about the disagreements of the philosophers in the two sources. In Aëtius this belongs to the *raison d'être* of the doxography. The enterprise of the *Placita* can only be carried out because the philosophers have had widely divergent opinions on the various subjects of Physics. What about Arius Didymus on this score?¹⁹³ His way of dealing with this issue differs for the two schools. In the case of the Peripatos, both in the section on ethics and in the physical fragments, virtually no individual opinions are recorded. Only if §16.17c is accepted as Didymean, do we read that Theophrastus adds an extra cause. In the Stoic accounts, as we have seen, different views of the members of the school are dwelt on at length. Yet we would argue that for the most part these are placed side by side, rather than that attention is drawn to their divergence. There are some exceptions. The short text on the ἡγεμονικὸν τοῦ κόσμου at Eus. *PE* 15.15.7–8 (cited in full above) is very similar indeed to what we find in A, except that the name-labels are not in the nominative case.¹⁹⁴ More notoriously the later members of the school are recorded as disagreeing in the doctrine of the ἐκπύρωσις; cf. Eus. *PE* 15.18.1–3, S 1.20.1^e (partly cited in double columns above).¹⁹⁵ But elsewhere AD emphasizes the continuity of the school, e.g. §10.16^c Chrysippus follows Zeno, Eusebius 15.20.2 Cleanthes reports on Zeno. This emphasis on the school's continuity, complemented by notices on deviations from its main doctrinal lines, is exactly what we might expect in a work entitled Περὶ αἰρέσεων, and is an argument for identifying it with the *Epitome*.¹⁹⁶ It differs from what S must have found present

¹⁹³ The author of Dox. A emphasizes that he will 'take the extra trouble to examine the views of others, not of all, but of those who differ on these issues' (*Ecl.* 2.42.4–6). But, as noted above p. 242, it is doubtful whether this text can be attributed to AD.

¹⁹⁴ As we shall see in our reconstruction of A 2.6, two of the *doxai* correspond almost exactly.

¹⁹⁵ Similar text at Philo *Aet.* 76–7, except that there it is Diogenes who suspends judgment, and not Zeno of Tarsus. It could easily come from a parallel doxography to AD.

¹⁹⁶ Note also how often the term αἵρεσις is found in the passages summarized and cited above on p. 258–62.

in A. In P, as we saw,¹⁹⁷ the Stoa is often treated as a school, and references to individual members are suppressed or perhaps even altered. In A there was more room for individual *doxai*, as S's evidence reveals. When there is an interesting disagreement between Stoics A will draw attention to it; e.g. Posidonius in P 2.9, Cleanthes in P 2.14. Sometimes a member of the school will be adduced for a *doxa* instead of the school as a whole; e.g. Cleanthes at S ¶48.7, Chrysippus at ¶50.30, Zeno at P 5.4.1, 5.5.2. On the whole the divergences of opinion recorded in AD are not sharp enough to be interesting for A, who prefers to treat the school as a whole and compare its positions to the views of other philosophers outside the narrow school circle.

7. Platonic quotations and doxography

Only one fragment from AD's compendium concerning Plato is found in S. He prefers to turn to the *ipsissima verba*, quoting from Plato's works more than from any other author.¹⁹⁸ This is another example of the influence of the Anthology's 5th century *Sitz im Leben*.¹⁹⁹ Briefly we should note the way certain Platonic excerpts are combined with the *Placita*, for it is yet one more illustration of the independent way in which the anthologist deals with his sources.²⁰⁰ Most often S introduces his quotations from Plato simply by giving the reference, e.g. Πλάτωνος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀξιόχου (¶49.47) Πλάτωνος ἐκ τοῦ Φαίδωνος (51.6) etc. Sometimes he precedes the quotation with a doxographical extract: in ¶8.45, 10.16^b, 11.3, 18.4^c, 22.1f. from A; in 12.2^a from AD. This is really another form of coalescence. It occurs only in the case of Plato because he is the only author S quotes in the original who also occurs in the *Placita*.²⁰¹ On five other occasions, instead of excerpting A, he inserts little doxographical phrases of his own:²⁰²

¶15.4 Πλάτωνος. Πλάτων σφαιροειδῆ τὸν κόσμον ὑπάρχειν. λέγει γὰρ οὕτως ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ... (an excerpt *Tim.* 33b follows): not derived, as far

¹⁹⁷ See above p. 190.

¹⁹⁸ See list at Wachsmuth (1884) 2.281-283; detailed analysis of citations from the *Phaedo* in Bickel (1902).

¹⁹⁹ Exacerbated by the 11th century abridgement.

²⁰⁰ Excellent comments by Diels *DG* 75.

²⁰¹ Except Philolaus, but at 20.18-2 he chooses not to coalesce.

²⁰² Note how the quote is introduced by λέγει γὰρ or λέγει γοῦν, as noted above at p. 233.

as we can tell, from A, but it is of course a common theme in the doxographical tradition (cf. P 2.2).

¶20.9^a (following excerpt *Tim.* 49b-e) ὅτι δὲ τὸ πᾶν αἰδίον, δηλοῖ σαφῶς· λέγει γοῦν ἐν <τῷ> Τιμαίῳ οὕτως... (an excerpt *Tim.* 32b-c follows): also not in A; cf. the usual formula at P 2.4.1. Here the term αἰδίος recalls the Aristotelian-Neoplatonist position.

¶21.1 Πλάτωνος. Πλάτων τὸν κόσμον ἔφησε ζῶν ἔμψυχον ἔννουν τε, ὅτι τε ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ τρέφεται, τὸ δὲ ἡγεμονικὸν τοῦ κόσμου ἐν οὐρανῷ τίθεται. λέγει γοῦν οὕτως ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ... (an excerpt *Tim.* 30a-b follows): a string of three short *doxai*; for the first two cf. P 2.3.1, 2.5.2; the third we shall later argue to come from a chapter that P has left out (cf. our analysis in vol. II).

¶22.3^c Πλάτων ἓνα τὸν κόσμον ἀπεφάνητο· λέγει γὰρ ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ οὕτως... (an excerpt *Tim.* 31a-b follows): based on A 2.1 as cited a few lines earlier (where it is surprising that the Platonic name-label is not deleted).

¶49.7^c Πλάτων ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀεικίνητον. λέγει οὖν ἐν Φαίδωνι (an excerpt *Phd.* 69e-70b follows): the *doxa* combines the key terms from P 4.7.1 and 4.6.1 (and not 4.3.1 as Wachsmuth indicates *ad loc.*).

Similar formulas occur on three other occasions, when introducing Pythagorean philosophers.²⁰³ At 1.23.2 a quote on Aristotle which seems clearly from AD is introduced λέγει γοῦν ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως καὶ οὐρανοῦ λόγοις οὕτως. It is hard to know whether this is an erroneous deduction from AD's text (he may have mentioned the titles),²⁰⁴ or whether S has added it on the basis of his own faulty knowledge. Even if the learning involved in these introductory phrases is elementary in the extreme²⁰⁵ (compare the greater sophistication of an Eusebius), it does illustrate a certain facility on S's part in the manipulation of doxographical material. It is part of the freedom claimed by the anthologist. And we should give him some credit for recognizing that much of the Platonic doxography required in the area of physics can be based on a single dialogue, the *Timaeus*, which is cited no less than 33 times in this book.²⁰⁶ His method in the special case of Plato and the Pythagoreans needs to be borne in mind every time we come across their names in the task of reconstruction.

²⁰³ ¶13.2 Ocellus, 20.2 Philolaus, 20.6 Aristaeus; texts cited by Diels *loc. cit.*

²⁰⁴ On AD's acquaintance with the Aristotelian corpus cf. Moraux (1973–84) 1.435.

²⁰⁵ He may have been aided by AD's summary of Platonic doctrines.

²⁰⁶ Note the prominence of this dialogue in Doxography A—it is mentioned four times, as can be seen above at p. 259f.—even though its subject is ethics. In physics it would have been used much more.

8. *The problem of contamination*

One more general problem remains. Our entire discussion so far has been based on the assumption, taken over from Diels, that P and S are independent witnesses and that S did not make use of P in his process of excerpting. Without this clear separation the task of reconstructing their common source would be next to impossible.²⁰⁷ In an appendix to his dissertation, however, Elter proved that two of the chapter titles (= ¶42–43) in the index of the Florentine anthology (i.e. L) were undoubtedly interpolated from P.²⁰⁸ Did such contamination extend further?

It is immediately apparent that the scope for contamination must be rather limited. After all we have seen that S tends to write out A fully, even if in some chapters extensive rearrangement has taken place. If A is already present, then there is little point in adding anything from P unless it is additional to what is already found in A. But P itself is no more than an *epitome* of A. In effect this means that where contamination is detected, mistakes have occurred. In response to Elter's discovery Diels suggested that three problematic passages in S could be elucidated by the theory of contamination:

¶50 first lemma in L (not printed by Wachsmuth) = P 4.8, 119.2–8 Mau

¶52.1, 483.9–11 = P 4.13 123.3–5 Mau

¶52.17, 486.7–10 = P 4.15 124.16–18 Mau

In the 2nd and 3rd cases, where material has clearly been added to what was present in S, assent must be given. The first case is more difficult. Here Diels argued that he now had a more convincing argument for the fact that only Nemesius preserves the correct text of A (as he thinks):²⁰⁹

Bisher also musste man annehmen, dass Plutarch wie Stobaios ein mangelhaftes, Nemesios ein richtiges Exemplar des Aëtios benutzt habe. Einfacher wird die Sachlage jetzt, nachdem die Möglichkeit vorliegt, dass Stobaios diesen § gar nicht gehabt und dass erst J. Damaskenos aus Plutarch ergänzt hat.

²⁰⁷ As we noted in Ch. 2, p. 84ff, when giving our general verdict on Diels' hypothesis.

²⁰⁸ Elter (1880) 73–4, acknowledged by Diels (1881) 349, Wachsmuth (1882) 76–7 and incorporated in his edition.

²⁰⁹ Diels (1881) 349.

Diels assumed that, since the text is corrupt in both P and S, the passage must have been imported from P into S, and this view was taken over by Wachsmuth, who deletes the lemma from his edition.²¹⁰ But how can we be sure that the problems were not already in A? The text in Nemesius is easier, but, as we shall argue below, it is a clear paraphrase of what we find in P and S.²¹¹ Given what we know of S's method, it is improbable that the lemma was missing in his anthology. In this chapter alone there are 10 lemmata not found in P. This leaves only one possibility of contamination, namely that the original lemma was *replaced* by the one found in P. This is surely not so likely. We conclude, therefore, that in this case contamination probably did not take place.

It is important to determine whether contamination is confined to the ms. L, or is also found in the other two ms. For example, earlier on we were greatly puzzled by the difference in order between the two witnesses for the chapter on thunder (P 3.3, S 1.29).²¹² The inclusion of both a Stoic and a Chrysippean lemma seems otiose. The problem would disappear if we hypothesized that the Chrysippean excerpt was from AD and had *replaced* the Stoic *doxa*, which P still retains. The inclusion of the Stoic *doxa* at the end of the entire excerpt in S could then be explained as a case of contamination from P... But this can only be correct if contamination also occurred in mss. F and P (for this chapter L is not available).

Recently another example of contamination from P to S at ¶4.7^c has been suggested by Lebedev. If we reconstruct his argument rightly (its presentation is far from clear), he suggests that the name-label Democritus should not be coupled with Parmenides, but with Leucippus in the next lemma.²¹³ This is most likely correct, as also the parallel passage in T indicates. But in P, where the Leucippian lemma is absent, we already read Παρμενίδης καὶ Δημόκριτος. Lebedev therefore argues that S's text has been

²¹⁰ Mau *ad loc.*, followed by Lachenaud, accepts the emendations of Von Arnim, which give a tolerable sense.

²¹¹ On the relation between A and Nemesius see Ch. 6, §2; this particular text is further discussed at p. 295.

²¹² See above Ch. 3, p. 188.

²¹³ Lebedev (1984) 15 and n. 3. The reconstructed text he gives of the passage raises more questions that it solves. On his general thesis see further the Appendix to Ch 7.

contaminated from P. It is equally possible to argue,²¹⁴ however, that we here have a very ancient corruption in A—easily induced by the repetition of πάντα κατ' ἀνάγκην—which occurred before P made his *Epitome*, so that it quite naturally appears in both witnesses.²¹⁵

It goes without saying that if such more extended contamination did occur, it would have most serious consequences for our understanding of the tradition of the *Placita*. In our view, however, contamination between P and S has only been *proven* for the ms. L, and would appear to be very limited in extent. For this reason we consider it a factor of negligible importance for the reconstruction for A.

9. Stobaeus and doxography: some conclusions

The *Eclogae Physicae* of Stobaeus constitute a highly complex document. Our attempt to fathom their rationale has been an arduous exercise, as the reader will no doubt agree. But the reward is that we are now in a position to draw together some conclusions.

(1) Stobaeus must be above all understood in the light of his practice as an *anthologist*, which is best seen as a mixture of freedom and subservience. There is *subservience* because what he basically does is write out texts. It cannot be said that there is a guiding vision, as for example in the case of Eusebius, except in the most general sense of an educational programme (with some apologetic or protreptic touches). His own contribution lies in the *freedom* with which he *arranges* his material. In our analysis it became progressively clearer that the freedom which the anthologist claims for himself is quite considerable, and furnishes many a tricky situation in the analysis of particular texts when the original sources are no longer available for purposes of comparison and control (as is most often the case).

(2) In the quest for 'artful arrangement' (Volkmann's term²¹⁶) the process of *association* plays a vital role. It can set in motion by

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

²¹⁵ A difficulty here is the reading in T, whose lemma for Parmenides deviates from the other two witnesses: ὁ δὲ Παρμενίδης τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ δαίμονα κέκληκε καὶ δίκην καὶ πρόνοιαν. The last two names are in P and S, the first is not. Lebedev's reference to T at (1984) 15 is obscure.

²¹⁶ Above p. 228, n. 90.

aesthetic or ideological considerations; it can focus on name-labels (as in coalescence) or can be sparked off by aspects of content. The task of the analyst is to try to enter into the mind of the anthologist —a risky endeavour to be sure, but one not without its own fascination.²¹⁷

(3) One aspect of the freedom that the anthologist enjoys is that he can decide *how much* of a work he wishes to excerpt. He is under no obligation to copy it out in full. Indeed excerpting generally means making a selection within a text. The case of Aëtius appears to have been rather exceptional. Not all of it could be used within the framework of the *Eclogae*: some chapters were left untouched. But it appears that Stobaeus decided this work was so suitable for his aim of presenting the diversity of philosophical views in the Hellenic tradition that he decided to excerpt it very fully and rather carefully.²¹⁸ It is a great pity that we are unable to read the explicit words on his method in the now lost *proœmium*. His practice, however, gives sufficient clues.

(4) What then is the relative importance of *name-labels* and *doxai* in Stobaeus' perception of doxography? An answer must take various aspects into account. On the one hand it is the *subjects* of the *Placita* that provide the framework for the book. On the other hand, within the chapter the *names* of the poets and philosophers are given priority. In the anthology it is important to affix the *flosculi* to particular names (i.e. those of the original source, not of the intermediate witness).²¹⁹ Names have a certain fascination. Even if he has his priorities, Stobaeus is surprisingly generous in his preservation of obscure names. Here perhaps his relatively limited knowledge was an advantage. Once he passed beyond the privileged circle of favoured authors (Plato, Pythagoras, Hermes, Aristotle, the Stoa), one name was as good as another.

(5) The greater concentration on name-labels entails that *placita* constantly run the risk of being *torn* from their original context. The systematics of the Aëtian presentation is thus more often than

²¹⁷ See for example the jump to Timagoras in 4.13 as found in our analysis above at p. 229.

²¹⁸ On the value of recording the diversity of the Greek philosophical tradition, compare for example the defensive remarks of Cicero at *Tusc.* 2.4.

²¹⁹ Elter (1880) 25, commenting on the omission of anonymous *doxai*, sententiously notes: 'talía non curat florilegorum genus, nomina sectantur non sententias.' This is unnuanced, but on the right track.

not entirely lost. One example we saw in the chapter on time.²²⁰ Another is his record of the chapters on the οὐσία of the soul, in which precisely the connecting lemma between the incorporeal and corporal views is deleted, presumably because it does not have a clear name-label of its own.²²¹ The process of coalescence necessarily entails a shift from systematics to emphasis on name-labels. Stobæus has much less feeling for the method of the *Placita*—which makes heavy use, as we shall argue,²²² of the techniques of διαφωνία and διαίρεσις—than ps.Plutarch, Eusebius or (as we shall see) Theodoret. To be sure, there are various texts where he does set out the contrast between particular views rather neatly, e.g. the antithesis Parmenides–Heraclitus at ¶20.1^{ab} and the contrast between two opposing views on the sun (Euripides–Homer) at ¶25.6-7.²²³ In general, however, his aim is kaleidoscopic accumulation, and that is not easily reconciled with the basic purpose of the *Placita*.*

²²⁰ Cf. the analysis of ¶8 above at p. 226ff.

²²¹ See above at n. 117.

²²² In vol. II.

²²³ See our discussion above §4, p. 212f.

* *Addendum* to n. 84. Arthur Verhoogt (Papyrological Institute, Leiden) informs us that reading marks are very common in the literary papyri. Many of these are the well-known critical signs introduced by the Alexandrian γραμματικοί. Others are used to indicate omissions, quotes and lemmata to be commented on, as well as points of special interest; see further Turner-Parsons (1987) 14f., McNamee (1992). Turner (1980) 117 remarks on the use of the *diple* sign (>) in literary texts: 'Their presence in a text suggests either that the papyrus was being marked by a reader who had access to a commentary (or was making one for himself)...' The second alternative is not so different to what Stobæus might have done in his task of excerpting.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SOURCES FOR AËTIUS: THEODORET

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1. *The man and his work*

The third and last of the sources for the reconstruction of Aëtius is Theodoret (393– c. 460), bishop of Cyrrhus in Northern Syria from 423 until his death.¹ In his apologetic work 'Ελληνικῶν θεραπευτικῇ παθημάτων² or *Curatio affectionum Graecarum* (henceforth CAG) he makes considerable use of our compendium. Indeed, as was discussed earlier, we are wholly indebted to Theodoret for our knowledge that Aëtius was its author.³ The date at which he wrote this work cannot be determined with precision. A clue is provided by its christological terminology which suggests a date early in his career, before the great controversies that begin with the Council of Ephesus in 431.⁴ The further hypothesis has been put forward that it is an *œuvre de jeunesse*, dating from the period before the elevation to the bishopric, but the evidence is not wholly

¹ A recent survey of his life and literary remains in Azéma (1991).

² The full title according to *Pref.* 16 is 'Ελληνικῶν θεραπευτικῇ παθημάτων ἢ εὐαγγελικῆς ἀληθείας ἐξ 'Ελληνικῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐπίγνωσις (*Therapy for Greek Diseases or Recognition of the Truth of the Gospel from Hellenic Philosophy*), by which, as Azéma (1991) 424 points out, Theodoret wishes to indicate both the negative and the positive aspect of his apologetic.

³ See above Ch. 2, p. 77, where the three relevant texts are cited in full. On the discovery and use made of T's evidence by Diels and his predecessors, cf. Ch. 1, §4, where we note that the first scholars to recognize the value of T's evidence were Patrizi and Mercuriale.

⁴ Richard (1936).

conclusive.⁵ Theodoret received his not inconsiderable, but primarily rhetorical rather than philosophical, education in Antioch or its environs.⁶ It is interesting, but perhaps no more than coincidental, that he gained access to Aëtius' treatise at almost exactly the same time that Stobaeus used it for his anthology 1500 kilometers away in Macedonia.

Theodoret's treatise is the last of the great apologetic works written by the Church Fathers in defence of the Christian faith against the background of and with reference to Hellenic literary and philosophical culture. It is the last writing that takes paganism seriously as a threat to Christian thought, in contrast to Cyril's *Contra Julianum*, which is little more than a protracted piece of polemic. In a literal sense, too, this work is a culmination, for it has absorbed a vast amount of material from its predecessors, most notably the *Stromateis* of Clement and the *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius.⁷ Incontestably Theodoret's erudition is largely derivative, i.e. based on knowledge taken at second hand. Nevertheless this is not a characteristic of his work that we wish to emphasize. As we have seen, one of Theodoret's main sources, Eusebius, had drawn extensively on P in his apologetic collection of texts. Almost all the *placita* material that Theodoret needed thus lay ready to hand in a conveniently abridged form.⁸ Instead he chose to turn to the original work, not realizing how much assistance he would render later scholars to whom such access has been denied.

2. *The evidence on Aëtius*

In its entirety the work consists of 12 books, but all the doxographical material is found in the first half, in which the more

⁵ Canivet (1958a) 17–21, (1958b) 1.28–31, arguing for a date between 419 and 423 on the basis of references to current persecutions in the Persian empire during this period.

⁶ Canivet (1958a) 308 writes: 'A Antioche, il a certainement appris la rhétorique, mais aucun indice ne permet de supposer qu'il ait pu y suivre des cours de philosophie'. We will grant the primacy of rhetoric in his education, but, as we shall note below, his use of a handbook such as A is an indication of some preliminary philosophical schooling.

⁷ Thoroughly investigated in the studies of Roos (1886), Raeder (1900), Canivet (1958a). The last study leans heavily on the earlier two.

⁸ See above Ch. 3, §4. We say 'almost' because Eusebius concentrates on books I & II, and quotes very little from book IV on psychology; see the list above on p. 131ff.

philosophical themes are dealt with. We first give a complete list of passages containing extracts from and allusions to A (chapter numbers—for the sake of convenience—refer to P):⁹

Book I. *On faith and its defence as a source of religious knowledge*

- §63 brief diaphonic summaries of 4.7, 2.4, 1.3, 2.3 (not in Diels)
- §96 on distance from heaven to earth: brief allusion to 2.31 (not in Diels)
- §97 on measurements of the sun: extracts from 2.21 (noted by Diels *ad loc.* but not cited)

Book II. *On the first principle, i.e. God*

- §95 sources of information on Greek philosophy include A (and P)

Book IV. *On matter, the cosmos and creation*

- §48 included by Diels in 1.3, but provenance in A is doubtful
- §9-12 extracts from 1.3 on the ἀρχαί
- §12 two *doxai* tentatively assigned by Diels to 1.5 on the unity of the cosmos
- §13 most of 1.9 on matter written out
- §14 most of 1.18 on the void written out
- §15-16 excerpts from 2.1-4 on the cosmos, its shape, administration and temporality
- §17-20 full excerpts from 2.13-14 on the substance and shape of the stars
- §21-22 full excerpts from 2.20-22 on the substance, size and shape of the sun
- §23 excerpts from 2.25-26 on the moon's substance and size
- §24 references to subjects of 2.27, 29 (also on moon) and brief extracts from 2.31 on distances of earth, sun and moon from each other
- §31 reference to A as source for wide-ranging disagreements of the philosophers
- §62 possible reference to explanations of the source of the Nile, cf. P 4.1

Book V. *On the nature of man*

- §16 futile *doxai* of philosophers to be found in Plutarch, Porphyry, and Aëtius
- §17-18 excerpts from 4.2-3 on nature of the soul
- §19-21 full excerpts from 4.4 on the division of the soul
- §22 excerpts from 4.5 on the location of the ἡγεμονικόν
- §23-24 excerpts from 4.7 on the mortality/immortality of the soul
- §28 brief reference to *doxai* on the νοῦς preserved at S 1.48.7 (not in Diels)

⁹ Diels gives a list of passages in his *Prolegomena* (p. 46) and cites relevant passages in the apparatus to his reconstruction. But we do not hesitate to replace it with our own because Diels' is both incomplete and confusingly organized (it is based on his own reconstruction of A, and so puts the cart before the horse).

- §46 perhaps brief allusion to antithesis Plato/Aristotle in 4.6, 2.3 (not in Diels)

Book VI. *On divine Providence*

- §13 extracts from 1.25 on ἀνάγκη (first lemma not cited in Diels)
 §13-14 extracts from 1.27-28 on εἰμαρμένη
 §15 extracts from 1.29 on τύχη.

Most of the excerpts are thus concentrated in three compact blocks in books IV, V, VI. The other scattered references in books I & II are less valuable for the task of reconstruction, but do show how Theodoret's presentation of and attack on Greek philosophy not only exploits the *Placita*, but is also strongly influenced by their method.

Both with regard to the constitution and the analysis of the text we are in a reasonably good situation. Not only has the text been competently edited by Raeder, but the Danish scholar preceded his edition with a dissertation in which he conscientiously examined those aspects of source usage which are of relevance to the understanding and determination of the text.¹⁰ This should not be taken to mean that Raeder's analysis is a wholly independent check on Diels. The references in his *apparatus fontium* simply refer to the reconstruction of Aëtius in *DG*. In a manner that can be compared with Wachsmuth's procedure in his edition of Stobaeus, Raeder is an intelligent critic of details, but he is not prepared to ask fundamental questions about the Dielsian hypothesis as a whole. We thus have three analyses of T's exploitation of Aëtius—Diels, Raeder, Canivet—, of which the most recent is by far the weakest.¹¹ These studies (and we in their wake) have had to confront subtle difficulties of interpretation which are the result of the bishop's particular way of using the *Placita*.

¹⁰ Raeder (1900), (1904); criticism of Raeder's text at Morani (1979), but this has not led to a new edition.

¹¹ Diels *DG* 45-9 (much material is also located in the apparatus to his reconstruction of A); Raeder (1900) 78-90; Canivet (1958a) 268-70. Canivet does nothing but reproduce the analysis of Diels, aside from adding mistakes of his own (twice in three pages he affirms that ps.Plutarch's *Epitome* is no longer extant but preserved by Eusebius). At 270 he claims that 8 additional fragments (all poetic) may come from A. Three of these are already in Diels' collection (4.5, 7, 14), the others cannot be attributed to A. On Canivet's Source X which he invokes to account for material that ostensibly cannot be reduced to Clement, see the rightly sceptical remarks of Nautin (1960). The analysis of Ninci (1977) is also of no value to us, because he takes Diels' results as given.

3. *Theodoret's method*

In a nutshell T's method can be described as combining an apologetic perspective with the strong tendency to paraphrase. In the former characteristic he recalls Eusebius. Unlike his episcopal predecessor, however, T does not quote the *Placita* with fidelity to the literal texts, but absorbs them into the well-organized literary structure of his book. In his method of dealing with the actual wording of the text he recalls that habitual alterer (or, depending on one's perspective, adulterator) ps.Galen.

(a) apologetics: the importance of the διαφωνία

Just like Eusebius,¹² T understands the basic rationale of the *Placita* perfectly, and exploits it relentlessly for the purposes of his apologetics. The truth embodied in the Gospel is single and unified. The Greek poets have seen nothing of it, the philosophers very little; 'for the paths of falsehood follow many scissions'.¹³ Every time that T introduces and excerpts the *Placita* he uses the characteristic language of disagreement, in which terms such as διαφοραί (cf. 1.63, 5.22), διαφωνία (1.96, 4.15), λογομαχία (1.97), διχόνοια (1.98), διαμάχη (2.11, 4.22, 5.19), ἐνάντια δόγματα (2.12, 5.16, 5.29), ἔρις (5.16) are prominent, as well as further apologetic disparagement revealed in words such as τερθρεία (4.21), ὑθλοῦσιν (4.22), μυθολογοῦσι (4.24), λεληρήκασιν (5.18), and so on. He is particularly sharp in detecting the basic διαφωνίαι upon which so many chapters of the *Placita* are based. Note, for example, the following text, in which he argues that the followers of the philosophers use faith when they choose between the alternatives presented to them (1.63):¹⁴

You can easily learn that those who follow the *doxai* of the philosophers make use of faith as a guide, the one group welcoming the views of these thinkers, the other the views of those, if you examine their doctrinal differences. For the one group said that

¹² See above Ch. 3, p. 130f., 139–41.

¹³ CAG 2.8: πολυσχιδεῖς γάρ που τοῦ ψεύδους αἱ ἀτραποί (introducing some almost certainly non-Aëtian *doxai*, on which see below).

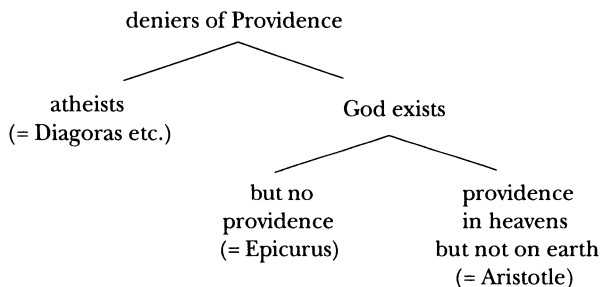
¹⁴ CAG 1.63: ὅτι δέ γε καὶ οἱ ταῖς δόξαις τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀκολουθήσαντες, πίστει χρώμενοι ποδηγῶ, οἱ μὲν τὰ τούτων, οἱ δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων ἡσπασάντο, μάλα ἂν τις μάθοι ῥαδίως, τὰς τῶν δογμάτων διαφορὰς ἐξετάσας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀθάνατον ἔφασαν τὴν ψυχὴν, οἱ δὲ θνητὴν, οἱ δὲ μικτὴν τινα ὥρισάντο καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς θνητόν, τὸ δὲ ἀθάνατον ἔφασαν· καὶ τὰ ὁρώμενα οἱ μὲν ἀγέννητα, οἱ δὲ γενητά, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ γῆς, οἱ δὲ ἐξ ὕλης, οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἀτόμων ζυστήναι· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔμψυχον εἶναι τὸ πᾶν, οἱ δὲ ἄψυχον.

the soul was immortal, another that it was mortal, while a third defined it as something blended, and said that one part was mortal and one part immortal. And with respect to visible reality one group said it was ungenerated, another that it was generated, and the one group said it was composed out of earth (i.e. the elements), another out of matter, yet another out of atoms, and one group said that the universe was ensouled, another that it has no soul.

This is roughly equivalent to the contents of A in P 4.7, 2.4, 1.3, 2.3. The basic antitheses are brought forward, while the name-labels are pushed into the background. Another fine example is found in the first discourse on Providence, where T gives nearly a Migne column's worth of antithetical disagreements, covering not only the views of the philosophers but also of heretics who claim the name of Christians.¹⁵ One particular διαφωνία is worth noting because it forms a short chain similar in form to a Platonic διαίρεσις:¹⁶

The one group affirms that the deity is completely non-existent, another that he exists, but does not concern himself with any aspect of reality. Others said that he does do this but in a trivial way, limiting providence at the moon, and that the remaining part of the cosmos was borne along as things happen, compelled to be subservient to the necessity of fate.

The positions can easily be recognized:



This division is entirely standard, with close parallels to be found in Cicero, Epictetus and other authors.¹⁷ In relation to A we see

¹⁵ PG 83.560A-D; no less than 17 anonymous groups are mentioned.

¹⁶ 560B: καὶ οἱ μὲν, μὴδὲ εἶναι παντελῶς τὸ θεῖον· οἱ δέ, εἶναι μὲν, οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· οἱ δέ, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μὲν ἔφασαν, σμικρολόγως δὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, καὶ τῇ σελήνῃ περιορίζειν τὴν πρόνοιαν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τοῦ κόσμου μέρος ὡς ἔτυχε φέρεσθαι, τῇ τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἀνάγκῃ δουλεῦειν ἠναγκασμένον.

Similar text with five positions at Epictetus 1.12.1-3

¹⁷ Cic. ND 1.2, Epict. 1.12.1; see further Runia (1997), where these *diaereses* are discussed

that it combines the treatment of theology in the first part P 1.7 with the cosmological treatment given at P 2.3, but is not directly drawn from the doxographer. There is of course no need for T to do this, for he is dealing here with an extremely common *diaeresis* with which every philosophically trained person at this time would have been acquainted. We note too that T, just like Eusebius, lays a direct link between the διαφωνία of the *doxai* and the Socratic topos that physics should be abandoned in favour of ethical teaching.¹⁸

(b) paraphrase: adaptation of the *doxai*

Quite unlike Eusebius, however, T is extremely free in his use of the *Placita*. Nowhere does he give anything like a literal citation from A. Instead he continually paraphrases, adapting the contents to both his own literary style and the purpose of his book. A is no more than a quarry of useful information, to be exploited as T sees fit. To give a rather extreme example of his paraphrasing technique, let us see how he adapts the chapter in A on the void (= P 1.18, S 1.18^{abc}; for A we give a reconstruction):¹⁹

Aëtius Περὶ κενοῦ

1 οἱ ἀπὸ Θάλεω φυσικοὶ πάντες μέχρι Πλάτωνος τὸ κενὸν ὡς ὄντως κενὸν ἀπέγνωσαν.
 2 Ἐμπεδοκλῆς· ‘οὐδέ τι τοῦ παντὸς κενὸν πέλει οὐδὲ περισσόν.’
 3 Λεύκιππος Δημόκριτος Δημήτριος Μητρόδωρος Ἐπίκουρος τὰ μὲν ἄτομα ἄπειρα τῷ πλήθει, τὸ δὲ κενὸν ἄπειρον τῷ μεγέθει.
 4 Στράτων ἐξωτέρω μὲν ἔφη τοῦ κόσμου μὴ εἶναι κενόν, ἐνδοτέρω δὲ δυνατόν γενέσθαι.
 5 οἱ Στωικοὶ ἐντὸς μὲν τοῦ κόσμου οὐδὲν εἶναι κενὸν ἔξωθεν δ’ αὐτοῦ ἄπειρον.
 6 Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τετάρτῳ Φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως γράφει· ‘εἶναι δὲ φασιν οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι κενὸν καὶ ἐπεισιέναι αὐτὸ τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπείρου πνεύματος ὡς ἀναπνέοντι’.

Theodoret CAG 4.14

τὸ δὲ κενὸν οἱ περὶ Δημόκριτον τῶν ἀτόμων ὀνομάκασιν τόπον, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες τοῦτόν γε ἄντικρυς κομφοδοῖσι τὸν λόγον.
 αὐτίκα τοίνυν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς οὕτω φησὶν· ‘οὐδέ τι τοῦ παντὸς κενὸν πέλει οὐδὲ περιττόν.’
 οἱ Στωικοὶ ἐντὸς μὲν τοῦ παντὸς μηδὲν εἶναι κενὸν ἐκτὸς δ’ αὐτοῦ πάμπολύ τε καὶ ἄπειρον.
 ὁ δὲ Στράτων ἔμπαλιν ἔξωθεν μὲν μηδὲν εἶναι κενόν, ἐνδοθεν δὲ δυνατόν εἶναι.

¹⁸ CAG 4.25, cf. Eusebius *PE* 15.62 and our remarks above at p. 139.

¹⁹ The evidence in P and S runs fairly parallel, so the reconstruction cannot be far wrong. On the problem of where the final Aristotelian/Pythagorean lemma ends (and AD begins in S) see above p. 251.

It is apparent that all manner of changes have taken place. (1) By reversing lemmata 1–2 and 3 T changes the antithesis from early philosophers—no void *versus* later philosophers—some kind of void to atomists *versus* all other philosophers.²⁰ (2) The *doxa* of the Atomists is radically changed with material most likely not drawn from A (*pace* Diels *DG* 46, see further below; for the *doxa* cf. 68A37 DK, but the present text is not included in DK). (3) The name-label of the group of Atomists is simplified. (4) The function of the Empedoclean quote is totally changed: instead of illustrating the first position, it is regarded (anachronistically) as ridiculing the Atomist position. (5) The *doxai* of Strato and the Stoa are reversed (assuming the *doxai* of the Stoa and Aristotle/Pythagoreans belong together, as in P). (6) In these two *doxai* the changes are mainly verbal and trivial, but note how, by changing κόσμου into παντός in the Stoic *doxa*, T neglects to his cost the distinction made by A at P 2.1.7 (cf. *SVF* 2.522–4). (7) The Aristotelian/Pythagorean lemma is deleted, presumably because, as a variation on the Stoic position, it is not so important.

In this particular case we cannot give T a very high mark. Although he does perceive the two main antitheses in A's chapter (no void *versus* void, no void outside but void inside *versus* no void inside but void outside), the paraphrase obscures its clear structure, and the other changes hardly amount to improvements.

In the case of other chapters T sometimes adheres more closely to the wording of A, but in general he takes great liberties. We draw attention to the following five features of his paraphrasing technique:

- (i) The curt, factual style of the *Placita* is regarded as unsuitable for the literary pretensions of T's book, so it is embellished in various ways in order to supply the required fluency, e.g. with the addition of verbs of affirmation, the recasting of sentences etc.
- (ii) T employs much substitution of synonyms, presumably to achieve variation and show off his own dexterity.²¹ Thus at 4.17 A's πιλήματα άέρος τροχοειδῆ becomes ξυστήματα άττα τοῦ άέρος τροχοειδῶς πεπιλημένα. But it must be said that he has an eye for the essential, and crucial terminology is generally left unchanged.

²⁰ The combination of chronology and systematics is unusual. S's text does not contain the words μέχρι Πλάτωνος in the first lemma. It is more likely that he deleted them than that P added them, either because he intends to quote the *Timaeus* later in the chapter, or because he does not want to attach the label φυσικός to him.

²¹ Cf. the pertinent remarks of Whittaker (1989) and (1990) xvii ff. on the practice of *variatio* when utilizing anterior sources. It is dull if the author just copies out literally. By making changes he shows his originality.

(iii) In order to achieve brevity T sometimes resorts to the process of coalescence, both at the level of the individual lemma and of the chapter. Thus at 4.16 all the non-spherical views on the shape of the cosmos are merged together as *ἐτεροειδῆ*. At 4.22 the chapters on the sun's size and shape are combined.

(iv) Name-labels are altered, i.e. multiple names are reduced and simplified. An example we saw above at 4.14. Another is found in the next section (4.15): when he writes out the long lists which A compiles on the unicity–multiplicity of the cosmos, he retains most names (it is a fine display of *διαφωνία*), but leaves out the names of two unicists.²² Mistakes can also occur (as so often with name-labels). Thus at 6.13 T groups together Democritus-Chrysippus-Epicurus for the view that everything happens *κατ' ἀνάγκην*. The easiest way to explain this is that he has misread Chrysippus for the Leucippus that we find in S (unless the mistake was already present in his copy).²³

(v) But sometimes additional information is supplied. At 4.9–11 T copies out some lemmata from the chapter on principles in A (= P 1.3). We compare the differences with what is recorded in S:

Aëtius at S 1.10.14

Μητρόδωρος Θεοκρίτου Χίος τὰ
ἀδιαίρετα καὶ τὸ κενόν.
Διογένης δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλωνιάτης
ἀέρα ἄπειρον.
Ζήνων Μνασέου Κιτιεὺς ἀρχὰς
τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν ὕλην, στοιχεῖα
δὲ τέσσαρα.
Λεύκιππος Μιλήσιος ἀρχὰς καὶ
στοιχεῖα τὸ πλήρες καὶ τὸ
κενόν.
Δημόκριτος τὰ ναστὰ καὶ κενόν.
Ἐπίκουρος ἀρχὰς εἶναι τῶν
ὄντων σώματα λόγῳ θεωρητά,
ἀμέτοχα τοῦ κενοῦ....

Theodoret CAG 4.9–11

Δημόκριτος δὲ ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης ὁ
Δαμασίππου τὴν τοῦ κενοῦ καὶ τῶν
ναστῶν πρῶτος ἐπεισῆγαγε δόξαν·
ταῦτα δὲ Μητρόδωρος ὁ Χίος
ἀδιαίρετα καὶ κενὸν προσηγόρευσεν,
ὥσπερ αὖ πάλιν Ἐπίκουρος ὁ
Νεοκλέους ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, πέμπτη γενεᾷ
μετὰ Δημόκριτον γεγονώς, τὰ ὑπ'
ἐκείνων ναστὰ καὶ ἀδιαίρετα δὴ
κληθέντα ἄτομα προσηγόρευσεν...
(4 further *doxai*)
Ζήνων δὲ ὁ Κιτιεὺς ὁ Μνασέου, ὁ
Κράτητος φοιτητής, ὁ τῆς Στωϊκῆς
ἄρξας αἰρέσεως, τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν
ὕλην ἀρχὰς ἔφησεν εἶναι.

Various problems confront us in this comparison. We begin with the presence of patronymics and ethnic indicator for the name-labels of Democritus and Epicurus in T. It might be tempting to conclude that T has been responsible for an addition, but that

²² Another alteration here is the change from *ἀπείρους κόσμους* in A to *πολλοὺς καὶ ἀπείρους*, presumably under the influence of Plato *Tim.* 31a.

²³ Diels omits to print T's evidence at the bottom of *DG* 321.

would be quite incorrect. For the last lemma P reads Ἐπίκουρος Νεοκλέους Ἀθηναῖος κατὰ Δημόκριτον φιλοσοφήσας ἔφη τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν ὄντων σώματα λόγῳ θεωρητά, ἀμέτοχα κενοῦ... So it appears that S is the abbreviator here. In doxographies it was traditional to commence with the question of the *archai*. In this context philosophers are mentioned for the first time and so have to be introduced. This occurs thought mention of the patronymic and ethnonicon, and sometimes also through an indication of the philosopher's place in the succession (διαδοχή) of his school.²⁴ S starts his *doxai* with theology and not first principles, and for this reason must have found some of this introductory material otiose.

But whence, then, the information that Democritus was the first to speak of the void and the solid, and that Epicurus represented the fifth generation after him?²⁵ Moreover, P and S both agree that Zeno is introduced as Ζήνων Μνασαίου Κιτιεύς, yet in T he appears on the scene as Ζήνων δὲ ὁ Κιτιεύς ὁ Μνασέου, ὁ Κράττητος φοιτητής, ὁ τῆς Στωϊκῆς ἄρξας αἰρέσεως...²⁶ One must suspect that T possesses another list of ἀρχαί, or alternatively a list of διαδοχαί which he interweaves with the material from A. These additions involve us in considerable interpretative difficulties, as we shall soon see.

Earlier we compared T to ps.Galen, a not very flattering comparison which we need to qualify.²⁷ The method of paraphrasing of both authors is certainly rather similar, including the often seemingly capricious additions and subtractions. It moreover

²⁴ The first beginnings of this practice go back to Aristotle *Met.* A 3–5, but it was fully developed by Theophrastus; cf. the fragments of the *Φυσικὰ Δόξαι* collected by Diels (whether these come from that work or the first book of his *Περὶ φυσικῶν* makes no difference in the present context; on this question see Mansfeld (1989b) 148–150).

²⁵ It is in fact not impossible that both are extrapolations from A's later chapter on the void, T's adaption of which was analysed above. A gives 5 atomist name-labels there. If Democritus is placed first (as happens in S), then a reader ignorant of the role of Leucippus (whom, we note, T omits here) might deduce five generations. Raeder (1900) 88 confesses to puzzlement, since T cannot have derived this information from the diadochic material at Clement *Str.* 1.62–4. We note too that *Dox. Pasq.* II (text cited at Pasquali (1910) 195) in a *doxa* on the *archai* names four atomists in the sequence Democritus Leucippus Metrodorus Epicurus

²⁶ Comparison with P shows that S has abbreviated the Stoic lemma, because he will later quote a larger section from AD. The discrepancies between the word order in the three sources are problematic, and would require a fuller analysis of this difficult chapter than can be given here.

²⁷ See above p. 276.

cannot be denied that T on occasion falls into the trap of the *Verschlimmbesserung*. A number of examples have been noted above, and quite a few others could be added.²⁸ But it needs to be stressed that T is a more intelligent author than G. He has a clear and fixed purpose in mind, in the light of which many, if not all, of his changes are motivated. Most important of all from our vantage point, however, is the fact that his evidence is more important than G's—for the simple reason that he used A and not P.

(c) abridgement and selectivity

Despite these occasional additions, T's method is usually to abridge the mass of *doxai* which he had at his disposal. In the extracts from Books I and II he never writes out a chapter with all lemmata intact, though some chapters are quite fully covered (e.g. 1.9, 1.18, 2.13, 2.20–22). The extracts from Book IV seem much more complete (i.e. 4.2–5, 7), but in the absence of S we cannot be sure *how* complete they are.

Methods of abridgement used are the coalescence of lemmata and chapters as noted above, the replacement of name-labels by anonymous groups of οἱ μὲν ... οἱ δέ (e.g. in 4.16), the curtailing of long lemmata (e.g. the *doxa* of Philolaus on the οὐσία of the sun in 4.21). But the main method of abridgement is the same as in P, the deletion of entire lemmata. What T aspires to is a collection of easily distinguishable views, for then the *dissensio philosophorum* comes out most strongly. *Doxai* involving subtle shifts or distinctions thus tend to fall by the wayside.

For his purposes *doxai* are clearly more important than names. In fact T likes to present a wide selection of philosophers, with remarkably little partiality towards the 'big names'. This emerges from the following statistics, which sort out the 141 name-labels that T records:²⁹

11 times	Plato Democritus
10 times	Aristotle Anaxagoras
8 times	Stoics Pythagoras Heraclitus
7 times	Epicurus
6 times	Diogenes

²⁸ E.g. on the size of the sun at 4.22 (cf. 1.97), where the *doxai* of both Anaximander and Empedocles are distorted.

²⁹ Excluding the *doxai* from 4.5–8 and 5.24–25 which are in all likelihood not Aëtian. Name-labels such as Θαλῆς καὶ οἱ ἄπ' αὐτοῦ are recorded under the main name.

5 times	Anaximander Empedocles Parmenides Thales
4 times	Xenocrates Zeno
3 times	Anaximenes Heraclides Metrodorus Xenophanes
twice	Archelaus Chrysippus Cleanthes Pythagoreans Strato
once	Alcman Aristocles Clearchus ³⁰ Critias Ecphantus Erasistratus Herophilus Hippasus Hippocrates Leucippus Melissus Philolaus.
absent	Antiphon, Aristarchus, Critolaus, Dicaearchus, Posidonius, Theophrastus

If these statistics are compared with those of P,³¹ T's generous eclecticism becomes apparent. At most one might discern a partiality for the names Anaxagoras, Heraclitus, Xenocrates, Heraclides; also the presence of the Stoa is quite extensive when the name-labels of both the school and its individual members are added up. In general, however, T's method of selection is closer to that of S, who, as we saw,³² is seldom concerned whether the name he copies out is well or little known. The difference between them, however, is that S generally endeavours to copy out in full, whereas T is making a selection.

Finally a few brief words on the sequence of lemmata supplied by T. Above in the case of the chapter on the void in 4.14 we saw that he deliberately alters the order. Fortunately this is the exception rather than the rule. In the case of his rather full excerpts from A (= P 2.13, 20, 25 on the substance of the stars, sun and moon), analysis reveals that in each case only a single alteration has been made to the order originally found in A.³³ Particularly noteworthy is that in the chapter on the stars (= P 2.13) T, unlike both P and S, does not coalesce the two *doxai* of Diogenes of Apollonia.³⁴ Also in the case of the excerpts from A book IV there is almost no deviation in order compared with P and S. The exception is at 5.22, where T transparently rearranges the *doxai* that place the ἡγεμονικόν in the region of the heart.³⁵ It is clear that retention of the original sequence of lemmata is primarily a

³⁰ These three name-labels all involve mistakes: Alcman is written instead of Alcmaeon, Aristocles instead of Aristotle, Clearchus instead of Dicaearchus. On these mistakes see Mansfeld (1990a) n. 16, 19, 146.

³¹ See above p. 189ff.

³² Above p. 236.

³³ At 4.17–20 Democritus is placed before Diogenes; in 4.21 Plato is placed after Aristotle; in 4.23 Pythagoras is placed before Heraclitus; see further our detailed analyses in vol. II.

³⁴ Here too we have to anticipate our analysis in vol. II.

³⁵ See the parallel columns and analysis at Mansfeld (1990a) 3093–6.

matter of convenience. It is easiest for him to follow his source, unless it so happens that an opportunity is presented for a more attractive arrangement. For the reconstruction of the original, however, this adherence to the original order furnishes valuable evidence.

4. *The interpretative crux: how much new material is furnished?*

Now that bishop Theodoret's method has been analysed, we are in a position to tackle the interpretative crux to which his evidence gives rise. It is certain that he had access to the original work. What information, then, can he furnish about that work which we do not already know from our other two witnesses? Given the free and easy manner in which he exploits the compendium and adds material to his extracts which is certainly drawn from elsewhere, it will clearly not be straightforward to pin down new material with any precision.

But the question is not just a matter of locating new material. There is a lot more at stake. This has to do with the far-reaching conclusions that Diels based on the extracts from T. Diels recognized that not all the doxographical material in T was derived from A. He concluded, for example, that the brief doxography on the ἀρχαί at 2.9–11 was drawn from elsewhere, and, though the question is difficult, we consider this verdict most likely correct.³⁶ His inclination, however, was usually otherwise. He undeniably wished to assign as much material as possible to A. Since this material exceeded what was known from P and S, he concluded that the original compendium was *larger* than appears from the other two witnesses. Diels commences his discussion of T with the following words:³⁷

³⁶ DG 170. Although there are naturally certain resemblances with P 1.3, the differences are greater. Note how (i) in the Parmenidean *doxa* epistemological considerations are added; (ii) in the *doxai* of the atomists the universe and not the ἀρχαί are central. Raeder (1900) 89 suggested that T may have made use of the ps.Plutarchean extract at Eus. PE 1.8.1–12, but admitted that there was much that that he would have had to add from elsewhere. The evidence of 2.8 needs to be added to that in 4.5–8 and integrated in a full-scale analysis of the various doxographies on the ἀρχαί. As we noted in n. 26, this task cannot be undertaken here.

³⁷ DG 49 (our italics): 'Plutarchi et Stobaei placitorum consensum ex usu *maioris libri* explicandum esse quem alter altero plenius exhausserit, id paene omnes consentiunt qui vel leviter illa scripta tetigerunt... ad *maioris* autem

That the agreement between the *placita* recorded by P and S is to be explained through the usage of a *larger book* which was more fully exploited by the one than the other is agreed upon by almost all those scholars who have touched on those works even just slightly... But before we undertake the task of restoring the original aspect of the *larger body* (of *placita*), we should look around us to see if any other excerpts beyond those of P and S have been preserved.

That A was greater than the sum of P and S is of course entirely uncontroversial. The question is: how much greater? Diels immediately lays down his cards. If one subtracts the extra verbiage of T's paraphrasing, it is argued, he rarely adulterates his excerpts, so that one can have the greatest trust in his evidence.³⁸ From the extra material that he preserves in the chapter on the ἀρχαί it emerges how much more he preserves of the abundance of the original source.³⁹ When we further observe that Diels in the remaining 4 pages he devotes to T mentions the larger source on no less than 6 occasions, we cannot but get the impression that he is rather surreptitiously trying to persuade his reader of a point that is of vital importance to him, namely that A was a 'fuller work which in its totality by far exceeded (the extent of) S and P.'⁴⁰ All of a sudden the usually ruthlessly critical scholar is surprisingly lenient:⁴¹

It appears from this conspectus [of passages used by T] how valuable the excerpts of T are for us in our attempt to restore either the order or the text or the extent of the more abundant work. We should readily pardon the few trivial mistakes and disturbances of the original order in exchange for the remaining excellent material.

corporis imaginem instaurandam priusquam accedamus, circumspiciamus oportet si extra Plutarchi Stobaeique excerpta alia sint servata.'

³⁸ *Ibid.* 'excerpta, quae, si excipias verba quibus ille [Theodoretus] abundat, tam raro sunt arbitrio adulterata, ut summa illis fides habenda sit.'

³⁹ *Ibid.* 'apparet quanto magis ille pristini exemplaris ubertatem adsequatur.'

⁴⁰ DG 48: 'plenior liber qui integritate Stobaeum Plutarchumque longe superabat.' Other passages (apart from the one about to be cited) which affirm a more copious source: 46 'ex ampliore libro'; 47 'plenioris libri auctorem'; 48 'ampliozem operis molem'; 49 'ex maiore illo libro'. This terminology has roots in the earlier tradition of analysis on which Diels draws; see above Ch. 1, §2 and §8.

⁴¹ DG 47: 'apparet ex hoc conspectu, quanti sint nobis Theodoreti excerpta sive ordinem sive scripturam sive copiam grandioris operis restituturis. nam paucula menda atque genuinae collocationis turbas prae reliqua praestantia libenter condonemus.'

Coming from Diels such generosity should put us on our guard. In his analysis Raeder places a number of question marks, which if pursued further, would have considerably undermined Diels' conclusions.⁴² But on the whole he is prepared to follow in the senior scholar's footsteps. Canivet in turn wishes to add even more uncertain fragments to the Aëtian collection.⁴³

Our hypothesis, based on a detailed analysis of S's method, is that, when he does decide to write out A, his excerpts are very full, and indeed close to complete.⁴⁴ This will allow a partial but quite accurate picture to emerge of A's contents and method. This conclusion does not easily rhyme with the implications of Diels' view, because A is in fact not much fuller than S where the latter is preserved. Clearly wherever T supplements P in the absence of S (i.e. in the excerpts from A's Book IV), the issue has to remain unresolved (but note that it offers no check on Diels' argument either). If, however, T furnished extra additions where S is well preserved, this would be highly problematic for our hypothesis. In the following list of lemmata and name-labels which can be added to the evidence of S (and P) we include all the material identified by Diels (but not evidence supplied for chapters where S is missing):

(1) lemmata

¶ T	cf. ¶ S	cf. ¶ P	subject	lemmata
4.7-8	10.14	1.3	<i>arche</i>	Parmenides, Melissus
4.12	22.3	1.5	unicity of universe	Heraclitus-Hippasus
4.16	21	2.2	motion of cosmos (?)	a pair of anonymi (?)
4.24	26	2.26	size of moon	anonymi
5.18	49.1	4.3	corporeality of soul	Empedocles, Critias

(2) name-labels

¶ in T	¶ in S	cf. ¶ in P	name-label
1.97	25	2.21	Anaximenes
4.13	11	1.9	Anaxagoras Metrodorus Epicurus
4.23	26	2.25	Heraclitus
5.18	49.1	4.3	Anaximander, Heraclitus

⁴² See esp. Raeder (1900) 81–2.

⁴³ See above n. 11.

⁴⁴ Argued above at Ch. 4, §5, p. 233-6.

We briefly examine these in order of their appearance in T's work.

(i) 1.97. Anaximenes is added to Anaximander in this text, but not at 4.22, where the *doxai* are repeated. Since the latter's *doxa* is *sui generis*, and is not attributed to Anaximenes elsewhere, we must suspect that T has added the label, presumably because the two Milesians are so often associated. Cf. Raeder (1900) 82 (Diels *DG* 351 remains neutral).

(ii) 4.7-8, 12. It will not be possible to discuss these lemmata in full, since this would require an exhaustive analysis of the chapter on the ἀρχαί, on which—as noted above—we cannot now embark. Suffice it to say that these lemmata (and some others) are most likely drawn from another doxographical source. On flaws in Diels' analysis of this chapter cf. Mansfeld (1987) 287ff.

(iii) 4.13 (cf. P 1.9, S 1.11). The name-labels of the 2nd and 3rd lemmata in the sources read:

- §2 P οἱ ἀπὸ Θάλεω καὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ οἱ Στωικοί
 S οἱ ἀπὸ Θάλεω καὶ Πυθαγόρου, λέγω δὲ τοὺς μέχρι τῶν Στωικῶν
 καταβεβηκότας σὺν Ἡρακλείτῳ
 T Θαλῆς καὶ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ ὁ
 τῶν Στωικῶν ὁρμαθός
 §3 P οἱ ἀπὸ Δημοκρίτου
 S οἱ ἀπὸ Δημοκρίτου
 T Δημόκριτος καὶ Μητρόδωρος καὶ Ἐπίκουρος

The second case is clearer than the first. The agreement of P and S strongly suggests that they preserve A, and that T must have filled in the names, which he could easily draw from the previous chapter on the *principia*. The first case is trickier, for the various clues point in different directions. Diels *DG* 46 argued that T's reading is superior: 'brevior est Plutarchus... obscurior Stobaeus. utrumque pertaesum est plene describere. quanto melius ille [i.e. T].' But on this issue quality is not necessarily the decisive criterion. Raeder (1900) 80 rightly points out that the formula οἱ ἀπὸ is very Aëtian. It is disliked by T, who never uses it. Once again the agreement of P and S speaks against T. There is a parallel for the chronological use of μέχρι at P 1.18.1; see our discussion above p. 279 and n. 20, where we note that both S and T alter for different reasons. On the other hand, the periphrasis λέγω δέ may seem like an addition by S. There are no parallels in S or P for the use of σὺν for the addition of a name-label. We have to choose between S and T here, and there are arguments both ways. If we choose for T, then S has dropped a name-label. But then we have to explain how the names of Anaxagoras and Heraclitus could be combined with a formula involving οἱ ἀπὸ...

(iv) 4.16. The two anonymous *doxai* on the motion of the cosmos certainly have the appearance of being Aëtian, although it is hard to know where they come from. We shall return to this text in vol. II, where we shall argue that they probably represent a short chapter that has fallen out of P. S may have deleted them because they were anonymous, and so could not be coalesced (on S's tendency to drop anonymous *doxai* see above p. 235).

(v) 4.23 (cf. P 2.25, S 1.26). The Heraclitean name-label certainly

occurred in A, and must have been omitted, either by S in his coalescence or by a scribe. See analysis at Runia (1989) 256ff.

(vi) 4.24 (cf. P 2.26, S 1.26). Again the *doxa* that the moon has the size of a span of the hand seems very plausible, making a fine parallel to the Heraclitean *doxa* that the sun is the size of a foot (cf. A in P 2.26.3). S may have left it out because it was anonymous. It is not impossible, however, that the symmetry was introduced by T himself.

(vii) 5.18 (cf. P 4.2–3, S 1.48.1). In one chapter T furnishes 4 extra names (Anaximander, Heraclitus, Empedocles, Critias) and corrects a mistaken name-label in S, Heraclides instead of Heraclitus.

—That the lemmata of Empedocles and Critias originally stood in A can hardly be doubted. The names occur in other sources such as Nemesius and Macrobius; see further Mansfeld (1990a) 3075ff. Why then did S omit them? The final lemmata of the chapter were Epicurus Empedocles Critias Heraclitus. The last lemma was left out because it concerns the soul of the cosmos and animals, whereas S focuses on the human soul. S must have seen the possibility of a neat contrast by stopping with Epicurus as last of the ‘corporealists’ and then juxtaposing the ‘noetic’ doctrine of Hermes and Plato. For this reason he had earlier left out the Platonic lemma, and also the important connecting statement at the beginning of P 4.3 (cf. Mansfeld (1990a) 3067, where an alternative explanation for S’s procedure is given).

—Anaximander is added in the sequence Anaximenes Anaximander Anaxagoras Archelaus (S adds Diogenes). The order of the Milesians is decidedly odd. The view is paralleled nowhere else. Baümker *ad loc.* 12A30 DK and Kahn (1960) 71 are rightly sceptical. *Pace* Diels DG 46, Raeder (1900) 81 it is likely that T imported the name, just as he added that of Anaximenes to Anaximander in 1.97 (but not in 4.22).

—Heraclitus is added to Parmenides and Hippasus as holding the view that the soul is fiery. S instead attributes to Heraclitus the view that the soul is ‘light-like’, but this is a mistake for Heraclides. The fact that there are two Heraclitean lemmata in this chapter is not a problem. This occurs in other chapters of A as well (cf. Runia (1992a) 133). It seems likely that the extra Heraclitean lemma was present in A; cf. similar *doxai* at Tert. *De anim.* 5.2, Nemesius 5, 54.17 Morani, collected as fr. 66 in Marcovich (1978) 252. S’s text may have been defective, or he may have overlooked it. See further Mansfeld (1990a) 3066 and n. 18. It is also not impossible that it was added by T on the basis of his doxographical knowledge. We simply cannot tell.

From this detailed examination it emerges that T does provide us with a limited number of lemmata and name-labels omitted by S. In each case, however, it was possible to give a more or less convincing reason why this happened. T’s evidence, therefore, does not undermine our earlier conclusion that S tends to write out A fully when he uses him, even if he not committed to doing so when it does not suit his purposes as an anthologist.

5. *Some conclusions on Theodoret's evidence*

There are many texts in which T gives us readings which are more accurate than what is found in P and S. A fine example is found in the chapter on ὕλη, in which the Aristotelian *doxa* is a distinct improvement on the improper conflation in P (in S it is replaced by AD). Other examples will be noted in subsequent analyses.⁴⁵ To this extent he deserves to receive the praise Diels heaps upon him. But that is not the focus of our argument. From the above analysis of his method it is clear that Diels has exaggerated the amount of extra material that the evidence of T suggests may have originally been present in A. Where S is well preserved, A will not have been very much larger than the material he records. Diels' method patently breaks down in the case of the two lemmata in the same chapter on ὕλη, where he sets aside the combined evidence of P and S in order to reveal T as the fuller witness.⁴⁶ This move is methodologically indefensible.

Theodoret's evidence is invaluable above all because he is the only further control we have on the more literal transcriptions of P and S. In every case that he supplies Aëtian material, his evidence has to be most seriously taken into account. But precisely because he is so free in his use of the source, this evidence will frequently be rather difficult to evaluate. Theodoret is not at all committed to a literal transcription of the text in front of him. His work is not only an apologetic exercise. It also aims to demonstrate a command of style, i.e. beating the Greeks at their own game. His knowledge of Greek philosophy, as we have seen, was largely derivative, heavily dependent on Clement, Eusebius. Nevertheless his use of Plato and Neoplatonist authors⁴⁷ does suggest some introductory philosophical schooling.⁴⁸ Hence too, we may suggest, his access to the *Placita*. At any rate his knowledge was sufficient to enable him to make additions and 'improvements' of his own. *Verschlimmbesserungen* are on the whole easily detected. What is trickier to handle are more or less

⁴⁵ Cf. also the preservation of the patronymics and places of origin at 4.9–11 noted above in the analysis of T's method.

⁴⁶ See above p. 287 on T 4.13.

⁴⁷ Note esp. his use of Plotinus *Enn.* 3.2 and Porphyry *Historia philosopha*. Canivet's analysis at (1958a) 267ff. is inadequate, as noted above (n. 11).

⁴⁸ Contrast the judgment of Canivet cited above at n. 6.

intelligent changes. In many cases decisions will amount to a question of judgment. When we proceed to our reconstruction the problem posed by the bishop's evidence will continually have to be borne in mind.

CHAPTER SIX

FURTHER WITNESSES TO AËTIUS

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1. *Introductory remarks*

The three main sources for the reconstruction of Aëtius' compendium have now been introduced and analysed. In the present chapter we turn to a number of other documents whose relation to Aëtius is less immediate and/or extensive than that of ps.Plutarch, Stobaeus and Theodoret, but which do unquestionably bear witness to Aëtius or works very similar to Aëtius standing in the same tradition. The criterion for including texts in this chapter will be that their relation to Aëtius is of such a nature that they can possibly be of use in the task of reconstructing both the contents and the method of Aëtius. When we have completed this further examination, we will be in a position to make a revised diagram representing the way the tradition of the *Placita* has come down to us. This will be set out in the final chapter of this volume.

2. *Nemesius of Emesa*

Nothing is known about the author of a treatise entitled *Περὶ φυσέως ἀνθρώπου* except what its manuscripts tell us, namely that his name was Nemesius and that he was bishop of Emesa (Homs) in Syria.¹ This lack of information is a great pity, for the book is

¹ For general accounts of the man and his work see Vanhamel (1982), Young (1994), both with bibliography. Some mss. attribute the work to Gregory of Nyssa or an unknown Adamantius, but this information can be discounted. On unsuccessful attempts to identify the author with other Nemesii see Bender (1898) 1–5.

virtually unique in the corpus of Patristic writings. It is a handbook—in some mss. the description λόγος κεφαλαιώδης is added to the title—which attempts to present a complete anthropology by combining a Christian perspective with both evaluation and selective appropriation of doctrines from Greek philosophy. More than any other work of the Fathers it has the style and method of a philosophical treatise, which no doubt explains its great popularity in the Middle Ages. This does not mean that an apologetic motive (as in T) is absent. As the author explicitly says when presenting the doctrine of Divine Providence, his λόγος is not just for Christians, who accept scriptural revelation and the doctrine of the incarnation, but also for Hellenes, who require proofs.² For this purpose he draws on an extensive array of Greek sources, prominent among which are Aristotle, Galen, and Porphyry. This knowledge is likely to have been based on some formal training in medical science and philosophy.³

The treatise has at long last been competently edited by M. Morani, who bases his text not only on an examination of all the Greek manuscripts, but also on the evidence furnished by the Latin, Armenian, Georgian, Syrian, and Arabic versions.⁴ Its contents can be divided into the following six parts:⁵

- §1 exordium culminating in an encomium of man
- §2 long chapter on the nature of the soul
- §3 on the relation between soul and body
- §4–5 on the body and its elemental composition
- §6–28 on the various psychical and corporeal faculties
- §29–43 on various ethical aspects of anthropology, culminating in the question of providence.

In the sections on the soul and on the psychic faculties the bishop draws on a certain amount of doxographical material. Our task in

² §42, 120.19ff. Morani.

³ Cf. Bender (1898) 5, Telfer (1962) 351. But it does not necessarily follow, as the latter scholar maintains that (1) Nemesius was pagan before being converted to Christianity, and (2) the main bulk of his book was written before conversion and was later adapted for the purpose of drawing unconverted fellow-countrymen to the Church. We recall the example of Bishop Synesius, noted above at p. 197, n. 4.

⁴ Morani (1987), replacing the wholly outdated edition of Matthaei (1802). For the mss. tradition see also Morani (1981). His decision, however, to bracket snippets of text on account of their absence in the Armenian version seems to us dubious.

⁵ Here we diverge slightly from Young (1994) 257.

this context will be briefly to examine these passages in order to determine whether he has made use of the *Placita* and especially to test Diels' claim that Nemesius is the only other ancient author who had direct access to Aëtius' compendium.⁶ Also the subsequent analyses of specific passages by Jaeger and Dörrie must be taken into account.⁷ All the necessary identifications have already been made by Morani in his edition.⁸

—§2, 16.12–17.10. On the οὐσία of the soul, corresponding to P 4.2-3, S 49.1^{ab}, T 5.17–19. Nemesius (henceforth N) begins by expressly indicating that there is widespread disagreement (διαφωνία) on this subject among the ancients. The comparison with P, S and T is complex (cf. the analysis at Mansfeld (1990a) 3076 ff., who also adduces other more distant parallels). It is easiest to list the lemmata in N and append the parallels in the other sources. We note that he reverses the order in A, beginning with the corporealists:

Stoics: approximates P S T.

Critias: soul as blood; not in P S, but cf. T soul from blood and moisture, perhaps a coalescence of the *doxai* of Critias and Hippon (in S), as suggested by Mansfeld (1990a) 3084 n. 109.

Democritus: soul first identified with fire, then explained as mixture of spherical fire and air atoms; the former is a simplification of P S (πυρῶδες σύγκριμα, but cf. Leucippus ἐκ πυρός), the latter an extrapolation on the basis of P S.

Heraclitus: verbally very close to the lemma in P which S deleted (see above p. 235f.), also not in T.

⁶ DG 49–50, responding to Volkmann (1873) 16. Other later authors such as Meletius and Glycas whose information derives directly from Nemesius are of no concern for our analysis. On these see CPG 2.282–3.

⁷ Jaeger (1914) 4–32, Dörrie (1959) 111–29.

⁸ Cf. his index (1987) 144, adding to Diels' list at DG 49 (most of the relevant passages are printed in the apparatus to the right column of his reconstruction). Morani is particularly to be commended for not accepting Diels' reconstruction of A and referring in his apparatus to the original works of P and S and not the reconstruction of A by Diels. At 57.18 he misses the reference to S 1.52.5, 7. One might note two further passages. Pythagoras' *doxa* at §2 29.19–20 vaguely recalls A's chapters on the *principia* and theology. §25 86.29–32 is interesting because the Aristotelian view corresponds quite closely to P 5.5.2, but the Democritean *doxa* is entirely opposite to 5.5.1. One might suspect that a mistake with name-labels has been made by N (there is no mention of Democritus in the passage from Galen which he next cites). Mansfeld (1990a) 3092 n. 138 suggests that the opening lines of the treatise §1, 1.5–8 might point to a chapter in A book IV on the origin of the intellect (πρόθεν ἔστιν ὁ νοῦς *vel sim.*), but obviously, as he recognizes, the *doxai* that follow (Plotinus, Manicheans, Aristotle, Plato) cannot all come from A. They form a good example of how the *Placita* tradition could be enriched through the integration of later material.

Introductory words on incorporealists are parallel to the opening lemma of A at P 4.3 (deleted by S), but the further distinction between those who say the soul is οὐσία καὶ ἀθάνατος and those for whom it is ἀσώματος but neither οὐσία or ἀθάνατος is not found there.

Thales: approximates P S T (N joins the two adjectives with καὶ instead of a disjunction as P S, T makes a mistake).

Pythagoras: same as T, P S have a similar but longer lemma.

Plato: approximates P T, S deletes.

Aristotle: same definition as in P S T.

Dinarchus: the name-label is a mistake for Dicaearchus in P S, while T has the equally mistaken Clearchus; cf. Mansfeld (1990a) 3078. The lemma however is much longer than P S T who all agree.

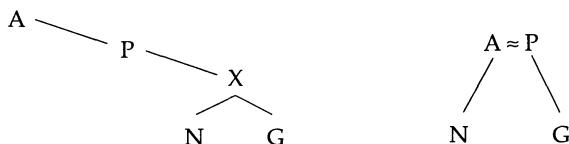
Concluding words repeat the earlier additional distinction and point out that Aristotle and 'Dinarchos' belong to the second group.

The parallelism with A is so extensive that dependence must be considered proven. But on three occasions N adds material (Democritus, second diaeresis, 'Dinarchus'). The question is thus: did N use A directly, or a source that had already absorbed A's material? Dörrie (1959) 117 opts for the latter, but on erroneous grounds (he argues that N cannot have drawn his material from A because one lemma is found only in T; but T himself draws on A). Mansfeld too suspected an intermediate source (1990a, 3077). This is quite possible. An alternative hypothesis is simpler, namely that the additions are the result of intervention by N himself, aided no doubt by the use of other sources. We return to this interesting text below.

—§2, 29.19–21. N repeats the *doxa* of Pythagoras cited earlier at 17.2 and this time adds the remark that Xenocrates was of the same opinion, also found in S and T.

—§5, 54.12–20. The *doxai* of ἀρχαί on water, air and fire are formulated in such a general way that they could be derived from anywhere. There are no striking verbal parallels with P or S. The name-label mistake Hipparchus instead of Hippasus is found elsewhere; cf. Morani *ad loc.* and Mansfeld (1990a) 3073.

—§6 55.9–56.1. For his chapter Περί τοῦ φανταστικοῦ N draws on material that shows considerable verbal resemblance to A at P 4.12, a chapter for which we only have the evidence of P. It consists of a single unusually long lemma, which may be assumed to be virtually identical to A (cf. a similar case at P 3.5, S 1.30.1, where both are preserved). P attributes the lemma to Chrysippus, whereas the name-label in N is οἱ Στωικοί. The adaptation is rather free, abbreviating the original and adding extra material. In his analysis Jaeger (1914) was struck by certain verbal similarities to G (11f.): 'Daß Nemesios den vollständigen Aetios noch benutzt hat, läßt sich nicht wahrscheinlich machen. Offenbar war dieses Buch von der Bearbeitung Pseudo-Plutarchs verdrängt worden. Aber auch Plutarch scheint seinerseits wieder exzerpiert worden zu sein, bevor seine Angaben in die Darstellung des Nemesios und des Pseudo-Galen hinüberflossen. Gegenüber der vollständigeren Entwicklung Plutarchs treffen Nemesios und Galen in ihrer knapperen Auswahl merkwürdig zusammen.' Compare the following stemmata:



Jaeger's hypothesis on the left is unnecessarily complex because he does not recognize that in this case P is unlikely to have been very different from A (an interesting practical example of the influence of Diels' *uberior fons* theory, Jaeger being Diels' star pupil at the time). The parallels between N and G (set out at Jaeger (1914) 10) are not so close that they demand a common intermediate source. They can be explained through the fact that *both* authors are *paraphrasing* their original. The second hypothesis is the simpler solution. But the possibility that there is an X source between N and A cannot be excluded on the evidence of this chapter (the theoretical possibility that P is the intermediate source in this case cannot be entirely excluded, but is not likely, since in §2 it is apparent that N did not use P).

—§6, 56.24–57.7. Two lemmata on αἴσθησις correspond to P 4.8, S 1.50: (i) definition and descriptions of αἴσθησις, anonymous in N, Stoic in A (= P §1, S only in ms. L, not included by Wachsmuth because he follows Diels in regarding it as contaminated from P); (ii) Plato in both N and P S (P §3, S §2^a). In the former case the differences between the texts in N and P S are considerable; in the latter the two texts are verbally virtually identical in all three witnesses. Diels' suggestion (1881, 349) in the case of the first text that N preserves A, and that S has become identical to P through contamination in L should be rejected; see above p. 267f. Not only is it unlikely that the lemma should be contaminated into S, but it is also very difficult to explain how P has come to deviate so greatly from A. Jaeger (1914) 21 rightly observes that, whereas P S preserve the undoubtedly correct definition αἴσθησις ἐστὶν ἀντίληψις δι' αἰσθητηρίου ἢ κατάληψις (cf. DL 7.52), N reads the modification ἐστὶ δὲ αἴσθησις ἀντίληψις τῶν αἰσθητῶν, while G has the even simpler αἴσθησις ἐστὶν ἀντίληψις αἰσθητοῦ. But again the parallel need not be explained by a common source, as Jaeger postulates. G offers paraphrase in the form of a dreadful *Verschlimmbesserung* (note how the passage continues). N modifies because he wants to stress the difference between αἴσθησις and αἰσθητήριον.

—§7, 57.18–58.14. Two lemmata (Hipparchus, Plato) in the chapter Περὶ ὄψεως are almost identical to P 4.13.3–4, S 1.52.5, 7. In the Platonic lemma N gives two readings that agree with S against P (ἀντιφερομένου, τοῦ δὲ περὶ μεταξύ...). In between these two *doxai* are 3 further lemmata the inclusion of which in A Diels DG49 considered too audacious. It is indeed difficult to reconcile them with P and S (who preserves the chapter very fully, adding 8 lemmata to P). No other lemma attributed to 'the Geometers' is found in A. On the other hand, the διαφωνία between the Epicureans and Aristotle strongly suggests a *Placita*-like source (note the use of *oratio obliqua* and the suppressed verb). Moreover

the Aristotelian lemma in S derives from AD, and may have replaced a lemma in A. But it does not seem possible to consider the *doxa* of Leucippus–Democritus–Epicureans (κατὰ εἰδῶλων εἵσκρῖσιν οἶονται τὸ ὁρατικὸν συμβαίνειν πάθος) as the source of the Epicureans in N (εἶδωλα τῶν φαινομένων προσπίπτειν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς). Once again we must assume either the interposition of an intermediate source or a combination of sources by N himself.

—§15, 72.3ff. Though parallel to, and strongly reminiscent of the *doxai* on the division of the soul at P 4.4 (S is entirely missing), N's evidence cannot be reconciled with the Aëtian material in P and T, and so must come from a different source.

Nemesius' evidence, we must conclude, poses awkward problems. There can be absolutely no doubt that some of the material analysed above is derived from A. This is proven by verbal parallelism. His method of sometimes citing *verbatim* and sometimes very freely paraphrasing reminds one strongly of Theodoret. There is therefore a good chance that Diels is right in arguing that N had direct access to A. In one or two texts, however, the differences between N and A are so great that one may suspect that he took his *doxographica* from an intermediate source, as argued by Jaeger and Dörrie.⁹ A further consideration is the fact that all the Aëtian material is drawn from Book IV. Elsewhere in his work he discusses themes such as cosmology (§5, 50.8ff.), εἰμαρμένη (§35), πρόνοια (§42), but here no *doxai* are taken from A. This might suggest that N found his Aëtiana in a source dealing only with psychology, but this is of course only an *argumentum e silentio*. The only way forward would be a more detailed examination of N's methods of paraphrase and suture of multiple sources.¹⁰

N can thus claim the status of a primary witness to A, inasmuch as his evidence cannot for the most part be reduced to that of the other sources P, S or T. But because the material he takes

⁹ And tentatively followed by Mansfeld (1990a), as noted above in the discussion of §2, 16.12–17.10. But not necessarily via P, as Jaeger thinks.

¹⁰ This task has so far not been done. The studies of Jaeger and Dörrie make valuable observations, but do not pursue N's method in a systematic way. Skard's series of studies (1936–42) is guided by the assumption (1937, 10) 'das Vermögen einen Stoff selbständig zu gestalten und unter weitere Gesichtspunkte zu bringen, möchten wir dem Nemesios überhaupt nicht trauen'. So we can expect little illumination from this quarter. Koch (1921), who argues that N's anthropology is largely derived from Origen's *Commentary on Genesis*, is of no assistance. The anthropological studies of Siclari (1974) and Kallis (1978) ignore questions of sources.

over is so restricted, it is of limited use in the reconstruction of the original appearance of A. He is unable to furnish what is needed most of all, i.e. material that allows us to make a check on S. What is presented on the οὐσία of the soul certainly differs somewhat from P S and T. But no additional lemmata are given in comparison with T. The slightly different organization of the διαφωνίαί and the additional doxographic information can be attributed to the intervention either of N himself or of an intermediate source which he used.

It is worth pursuing just a little further the method which N uses in raiding the store of the *Placita*. In most of the passages cited above he merely takes over material that fits into his discussion. But this is definitely not the case in the first text. Here N's approach reminds us strongly of T, but with one essential difference. The text in its doxographic essentials can be summarized as follows:¹¹

16.12 διαφωνεῖται σχεδὸν ἅπασιν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὁ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς λόγος.

Then follows a list of philosophers for whom the soul is σῶμα (Stoics, Critias, Hippon, Democritus, Heraclitus, cf. P 4.3).

16.21 πάλιν δὲ καὶ τῶν λεγόντων ἀσώματον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἄπειρος γέγονεν ἡ διαφωνία, τῶν μὲν οὐσίαν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀθάνατον λεγόντων, τῶν δὲ ἀσώματον μὲν, οὐ μὴν οὐσίαν οὐδὲ ἀθάνατον.

Then follows a second list of philosophers (cf. P 4.2), which concluded with the comment that οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι (i.e. Thales, Pythagoras, Plato) regard the soul as οὐσία, but Aristotle and 'Dinarchus' (i.e. Dicaearchus) as ἀνούσιος.

17.10 ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις introduces a further *diaeresis*:

For one group the soul is one and the same, for another (including the Manicheans) many and different κατ' εἶδος, while for yet another it is both one and many.

17.14 πᾶσα τοίνυν ἀνάγκη μηκύναι τὸν λόγον τοσαύταις δόξαις ἀντιλέγοντα. κοινῇ μὲν οὖν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς λέγοντας σῶμα τὴν ψυχὴν...

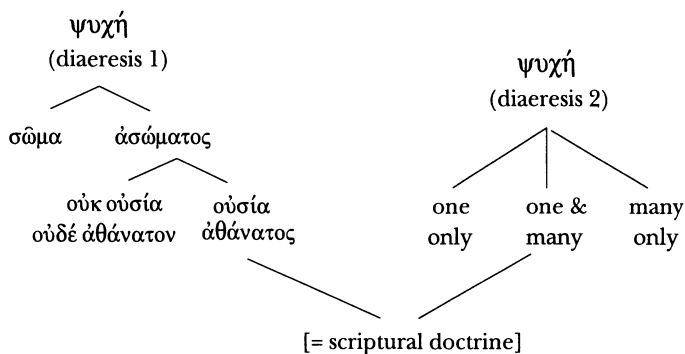
The refutation of all the above positions follows, except the Platonic view that the soul is both one and many (33.20ff.)

37.21ff. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων. εἰ μὲ δὴν ψυχὴν ἀπεδείξαμεν μήτε σῶμα οὖσαν μήτε ἁρμονία μήτε κράσιν μήτ' ἄλλην τινὰ ποιότητα, δηλὸν ἐξ τούτων ὡς οὐσία τίς ἐστὶν ἀσώματος ἡ ψυχή...

The conclusion is thus reached by a method of doxographical exhaustion. Moreover Plato gives many proofs of the soul's immortality. But for Christians it suffices as proof that divinely inspired scripture teaches this doctrine.

¹¹ Cf. the fine analysis of Dörrie (1959) 111-127, also Krause (1904) 16ff., and now the detailed treatment in the broader context of the doxographical tradition at Mansfeld (1990a) 3076-81.

The basic scheme of the *Placita* as set out in P 4.2–3 has been expanded and adapted to the purpose of an argument that extends over some 20 pages of text. It consists of a various διαφωνίαί linked together in two chained diaereses:¹²



We have here a classic example of the method of the *Placita* adapted to Christian use. Like T Nemesius stresses the role of disagreement (διαφωνία) in the non-Christian views on the soul. But instead of opposing them to the unified truth of scripture *tout court*, he shows by argument that a combination of two options is correct, and then concludes that it corresponds to the scriptural view. This difference is due to the more positive use of philosophical argument allowed by Nemesius.

The date of the treatise can be established with reasonable accuracy by means of its references to Christian ecclesiastics. His polemical references to Apollonarius and Eunomius, whose views were declared heretical at the Synods at Constantinople in 381 and 383, and who were both dead by about 392, suggest a *t.p.q.* of 380 at the earliest. On the other hand the fact that there are no references to later figures such as Nestorius and Eutyches who became controversial by about 420 indicates a *t.a.q.* of just after 400.¹³ This dating means that Nemesius wrote his work less than a generation before Theodoret. If indeed he did use it directly,

¹² Simplified version of a more complex diagram (including the name-labels) at Dörrie (1959) 116.

¹³ Detailed discussion at Bender (1898) 13-30, who concludes that the decade 380-390 is the most likely date, when Apollinarius (whom N mentions at the very beginning of the work, §1, 1.9) was still alive and Theodore of Mopsuestia wrote his 15 books on the incarnation.

then we may suspect a local tradition, for Emesa and Cyrrhus, where Theodoret was able to use it, are within 200 km of each other. Another possibility is that Theodoret wrote his work before his elevation to the episcopate.¹⁴ In this case the book must have been available in Antioch, which lies in between the two towns. At any rate we may conclude that there was a local Syrian presence of Aëtius' treatise at the beginning of the 5th century, at a considerable distance from the copy possessed by Johannes in Macedonian Stobi.

3. *Achilles' Isagoge and the Aratean scholia*

We turn now to the commentary tradition of Aratus' *Phaenomena*, one of the most widely read works of literature in later antiquity, and particularly to a work which in its two manuscripts receives the following titles:¹⁵

Vaticanus gr. 191 (14th c.): τῶν Ἀράτου Φαινομένων πρὸς εἰσαγωγὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἀχιλλέως Περὶ τοῦ παντός

Mediceus 28.44 (15th c.): ἐκ τῶν Ἀχιλλέως πρὸς εἰσαγωγὴν εἰς τὰ Ἀράτου Φαινόμενα Περὶ τοῦ παντός.

These titles were long read as indicating that it consists of excerpts from a commentary on Aratus (hence its place in Maass' *Commentariorum in Aratum reliquiae*). The view is now favoured, however, that it consists of extracts from a work by Achilles on astronomy brought together for the purpose of giving an introduction to Aratus' poem.¹⁶ Diels and Maass thought the last three words of the title actually represent the heading of the first chapter. This too is debatable.¹⁷ The title Περὶ τοῦ παντός seems suitable enough for a work dealing with the nature and structure of the heavens (including meteorological phenomena). On the other hand, it cannot be denied that references to Aratus' poem

¹⁴ See above p. 272f.

¹⁵ On the complex mss. tradition see Maass (1892) 9ff., Martin (1956) 130ff. On Achilles' place in the Aratean commentary tradition cf. Mansfeld (1994b) 49–54, 154, 197–8.

¹⁶ Cf. Pasquali (1910) 223–5, Martin (1956) 131 against Diels *DG* 17–8 and Maass. For this reason Martin does not include the text in his *Scholia in Aratum vetera* (1974), and so we still have to rely on the outdated edition of Maass (1898).

¹⁷ Algra (1993) 486 is sympathetic to this view on account of the title of the second ms.

are more frequent than is to be expected in a general handbook.¹⁸ Pasquali plausibly proposed that it was it was 'leicht überarbeitet', i.e. the excerptor had added extra Aratean material for introductory purposes.¹⁹ At the end of the work two remarks are inserted, from which it is clear that the instructor in the class-room was expected to explain the stellar sphere and the poem at the same time.²⁰ It is even possible that the purpose of introductory works on astronomy such as those of Cleomedes, Geminus and Achilles was precisely to furnish general background knowledge necessary for the understanding and exegesis of the poem.²¹ However this may be, in order to avoid confusion we shall retain the conventional title of the work, Achilles' *Isagoge*.

Achilles is not entirely unknown as a literary personality. The *Souda* describes him as an Alexandrian who wrote the works *Περὶ σφαίρας*, *Περὶ ἐτυμολογίας* and *Ἱστορία σύμμικτος*.²² The first of these is probably an alternative title for the source of the excerpts. For the *t.a.q.* of the work we can draw on the evidence of Firmicus Maternus, who refers to Achilles in connection with the *sphaera barbarica* at *Mathesis* 4.17.2, a work which can be precisely dated to 336. For the *t.p.q.* the best evidence is the reference in the excerpts to the 2nd century authors Adrastus and Ptolemy.²³ This leaves us with a probably date early in the 3rd century.

What we have before us are excerpts from a now lost original. What they amount to is an utter hodge-podge of material. The original work cannot have had the kind of uniform content we find in the astronomical works of Cleomedes or Geminus. It must have formed a medley from a wide variety of sources, perhaps not

¹⁸ Cf. 29.8, 34.18, 42.13, 47.27, 52.4, 52.30, 53.30 etc. Compare the *Elementa Astronomiae* of Geminus, which refers to the poem 6 times only.

¹⁹ Pasquali (1910) 223; Mansfeld (1994b) 198 speaks of the excerpts being 'recycled' as an Εἰσαγωγή to Aratus.

²⁰ Cf. Mansfeld *ibid.* with reference to 72.13-15, 26.

²¹ Cf. the tentative suggestions of Goulet (1980) 17-20, adducing the material collected in Weinhold (1912); cf. the comments of Mansfeld *ibid.* One may compare the 2nd cent. CE work of Theon of Smyrna, meant as an introductory work for the reading of Plato: Τῶν κατὰ τὸ μαθηματικὸν χρησίμων εἰς τὴν Πλάτωνος ἀνάγνωσιν.

²² S.v. Ἀχιλλεὺς Τάτιος; but the identification with the novelist is most likely false. For this reason he should not be called Achilles Tatius. As Maass (1898) xvii points out, his name also occurs on a list of famous later ancient rhetors (not noted in Robiano (1989), which as a survey article for *DPA* is disappointing).

²³ §18 43.9, §19 46.30, 47.14 Maass.

entirely dissimilar to the Στρωμάτεις of Clement. Here once again, as in the cases of Stobaeus and Theodoret, the source analysis contained within the edition defers to the authority of Diels; in the margin Maass indicates the possible sources from which the excerpts are derived, taking his cue from the brief analysis in the *DG*. Since then, to our knowledge, no further work of any substance has been done. At least ten different sources seem to have been drawn upon,²⁴ so this is not a task that we can take upon ourselves, except in the broadest terms. The most fruitful approach in our view will be to begin with the formal characteristics of the material, and not immediately try to pin down specific philosophical traditions, as Diels and Maass tried to do. The excerpts alternate between two opposed traditions of scientific-philosophical reportage. More than half the material is basically *didactic*, introducing the reader to the main features of astronomy with almost no reference to philosophers or scientists. We note the interest in defining terms, making correct distinctions, giving accurate descriptions, asking questions that are immediately answered, using images to explain difficult concepts.²⁵ There is, however, little philosophical argumentation, i.e. the excerpts look more like a work of a Geminus than of a Cleomedes. Diels and Maass, basing their views on a number of internal references, attribute most of this material to a tradition consisting of Posidonius, Diodorus ὁ μαθηματικός, and Eudorus.²⁶

The other significant body of material is *doxographic* in nature, and closely resembles the *Placita*. It contains numerous names of philosophers and emphasizes that different views are held on the subject in question. Most of this material is directly related to the *Placita* tradition we are studying. In part, however, it has a different origin. We note three interesting examples.

²⁴ Among which a source similar to the 'Homeric' extracts we found in S; cf. §1 29.24 ἤρμωτε δὲ μεγάλῳ ποιητῇ περὶ μεγάλων εἰπεῖν Ὅμηρῳ, 30.13 μαρτυροῦσι δὲ Κράτης καὶ Ἀπίων ὁ Πλειστονείκης ὅτι ἀστρονόμος Ὅμηρος. Cf. Mette (1936) 189.

²⁵ Defining terms (e.g. §6 35.29, §13 40.25 etc.), making correct distinctions (§2 30.20, §14 41.13), giving accurate descriptions (§22 51.27ff.), asking questions that are immediately answered (§21 50.28ff.), using images to explain difficult concepts (§4 34.3, §20 48.16).

²⁶ Only the named fragments of Posidonius in Edelstein-Kidd (1972), more in Theiler's collection (1982). For Eudorus, cf. Mazzarelli (1985), who takes over most of Maass' suggestions.

(i) §2, 30.20-29. Before chapter 3 *Περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆς* Achilles first has a short chapter entitled *Τίνι διαφέρει μαθηματικὴ φυσιολογίας*. He cites Eudorus, who in turn records the view of Diodorus of Alexandria that mathematical science studies *τὰ παρεπόμενα τῇ οὐσίᾳ*, such as *πόθεν καὶ πῶς ἐκλείπεις γίνονται*, whereas natural science studies *περὶ τῆς οὐσίας*. As an example he then gives the question of the φύσις (i.e. οὐσία) of the sun and gives three *doxai*: according to Anaxagoras a red-hot lump (of earth), according to the Stoics fire, according to Aristotle the fifth element. This mini-collection is parallel to P 2.20. The earlier question is not explicitly raised in A. See the important parallels in Aristotle *Phys.* 2.2, 193b22ff. (note b27 τὸ τί ἐστὶν ἥλιος), Posidonius fr. F18 E.-K. The combination with doxographical questions was thus traditional. There is absolutely no reason to conclude on the basis of this passage that 'the main doxographical source of Achilles' *Isagoge* is... Eudorus who relies on Diodorus', as done by Lebedev (1990) 79.

(ii) §3, 31.28-32.5. In the short doxography on the ἀρχαί Thales is joined by Pherecydes in holding the ἀρχή to be water, a combination foreign to what is found in the *Placita*. At Sext. Emp. *Hyp.* 3.30 Pherecydes' view is that earth is the principle, a position which in Achilles is attributed to *anonymi*. Cf. Mansfeld (1985) 124 n. 54, Schibli (1990) 26, 41 (who does not dwell on the doxographical background).

(iii) §13, 40.25-41.11. The chapter is entitled εἰ ζῶα οἱ ἀστέρες (cf. the *quaestio* εἰ ζῶον ἢ μὴ ζῶον ὁ ἥλιος in the *proem* of P, 874F). After a definition of ζῶον attributed to Eudorus, we get three views in favour (Anaxagoras, Democritus, Epicurus), three against (Plato, Aristotle, Chrysippus), each name-label except the first being accompanied by a *laudatio*. Then the Epicureans are pitted against the Stoics and the issue is resolved by arguments attributed to Posidonius and the Stoics in general. The formulation of the problem and the two διαφωνίαι are in tune with the method of the *Placita*, but not *grosso modo* the *laudationes* and the resolution by means of argument. Maass assumes the entire passage is Eudoran (followed by Mazzarelli (1985) fr. 10, but only up to 41.5). The method of citation is of interest because the inclusion of book-titles is reminiscent of the author of ethical doxography A at Stob. *Ecl.* 2.7 2.39-57 W. (see our listing above at p. 257f.). In this section too (42.7) Eudorus is cited, but the attribution to AD is to be rejected (see above Ch. 4, §5 at n. 142). We agreed with Göransson above (p. 242) that this passage cannot with confidence be attributed to Arius Didymus, as has become traditional since Meineke and Diels.

Our focus must be, however, on the *Placita* material related to Aëtius. In a magnificent display of misguided ingenuity Diels tried to demonstrate that all the *doxai* were derived from P, the considerable differences being explained as due to Achilles' intervention.²⁷ For this reason the parallels in Achilles are printed

²⁷ DG 22-6.

under the *left* column of the reconstruction of A. Diels was misled by the section on the ἀρχαί, which does show features close to P. But his efforts were doomed to failure, for the differences are simply too great (greater, for example, than in the case of T and N). We learn from a footnote in Pasquali that Diels later came to realize his mistake.²⁸ By this time, however, Maass had conscientiously introduced all Diels' attributions in the margins of his text.²⁹ Once again we list the evidence, stating the subject-matter involved and briefly indicating the lemmata that differ from what we find in A (i.e. in P and S).

§2 The three *doxai* τίς ἡλίου φύσις, discussed above under example (i), parallel to P 2.20.3-5, but rather differently formulated. It concerns a stock example. For this reason the *doxai* are not necessarily directly parallel to the material in A.

§3 Περί τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆς, 31.2-18: On the ἀρχαί, cf. P 1.3, where all five *doxai* are found. Note that Achilles reads Σωκράτης καὶ Πλάτων just like P against S. But the actual *doxai* of Epicurus and Empedocles differ on essential points.

§4 Περί τῆς συστάσεως τῶν ὅλων, 34.11-15: Xenophanes on the position of the earth, cf. P 3.8.4, 3.11.2 (but P does not cite the verses). The words ἀλλὰ κάτω εἰς ἄπειρον καθήκειν correspond to εἰς ἄπειρον ἐρριζῶσθαι, found in both texts in P, and—remarkably—in almost exactly the same formulation (except ἐπ' instead of εἰς) in about half the mss. at Arist. *DC* B 13 295a23. The various formulations allude to the quote, but only Achilles cites the verses (= 21B28 DK). See further the remarks at Mansfeld (1992a) 97ff., where Achilles' evidence needs to be added.

—34.20-23: Empedocles on change of elements, cf. P 2.7.5.

§5 Τίς οὐσία οὐρανοῦ, 34.25-35.2: three names recur in A's chapter on the nature of the heaven, cf. P 2.11, S 1.23.1-2. But there are significant differences in the wording of the *doxai*. All three accounts are defective.

—35.15-18: 3 *doxai* on the nourishment of the cosmos, parallel to P 2.5. The Aristotelian *doxa* need not come from a different source, as Maass argues, but may have been reformulated.

—36.8-12: parallel to the first and last lemma of P 2.1 on the cosmos. At 37.5-6 the view of Epicurus is added (cf. P 2.1.3), including—most interestingly in view of the parallel in P—the addition about Metrodorus as his purported teacher (but διδάσκαλος instead of καθηγητής).

§6 Περί σχήματος κόσμου, 37.8-10: three *doxai* parallel to P 2.2; also an exact parallel in *Dox. Pasq.* XXIII cited in the next section. Maass writes 'Ign' *in margine*, because Diels 23 had thought the case doubtful. But the parallelism is clear.

—37.29-38.2: Pythagorean shapes, same lemma at P 2.6.6.

²⁸ Pasquali (1910) 221.

²⁹ Note that Maass sometimes prints ign<oti> in his margin for material that is patently derived from the *Placita*; e.g. 36.8-12, cf. P 2.1.

§7 Περί περιφορᾶς, 38.4–9: cf. similar lemmata at P 2.6.1–2, but in the context of a different theme.

§8 Εἰ ἔστι τι ἐκτὸς κενόν, 38.10–20: significant parallels with P 2.8 and 1.18, although the arrangement is quite different. The Epicurean *doxa* also recalls 2.1.3. A detailed analysis is given by Algra (1993) 485 ff., with particular attention to the position of Posidonius.

§11 Τίς οὐσία ἀστέρων, 40.1–17: extensive parallels with A at P 2.13, as set out by Diels *DG*24. Of the 7 *doxai* 6 have the same name-labels as in A, and also the order is the same. The last lemma on the Stoics need not come from a source outside the *Placita*, *pace* Diels and Maass.

§12 Περί σχήματος ἀστέρων, 40.18–23: largely parallel to A at P 2.14, but with differences in the formulation and arrangement. Again it is not necessary to postulate different sources, as Pasquali (1910) 221 already noted.

§16 Τάξις τῶν ζ' σφαιρῶν, 42.25–43.13: certain resemblances to A at P 2.15 (note the disagreements on the planetary order), but the parallels are not close.

§18 Τίς ὁ καλούμενος μέγας ἐνιαυτός... 44.14–28: certain not very close parallels with A at P 2.32. Achilles uses a more 'didactic' source. But we note a short passage on the sun in §19, 47.20–26, where the same disagreement on planetary ἀποκατάστασις is found as in P 2.32.

§19 Περί ἡλίου, 46.9–29: extracts on the sun's substance and shape, largely parallel to A at P 2.20, 2.22, but revealing many differences, e.g. in the formulation of the view of Anaximander.

§20 Περί μεγέθους ἡλίου, 48.6–7: only one *doxa* is the same as the list in A at P 2.21. The others differ because, unlike in A, the sun is taken to be larger than the earth.

§21 Περί σελήνης, 49.1–14: doxographical extracts parallel to A at P 2.25, 27, 29 on the substance, shape and eclipses of the moon, but considerably less detailed. In the case of the moon's οὐσία 4 of the 7 *doxai* are parallel to A, the other 3 differ (especially that of Empedocles, which is radically different to S 1.26.1^f).

§28 Περί τοῦ ἄξονος, 62.8–10: the two views on the right and left parts of the cosmos recall 2.10, but the details differ markedly.

§33 Περί ἀνέμων... 68.11–12, 26–30: elements of the 3 *doxai* still preserved in A at P 3.7 are given, but in abridged form. Achilles does not use *Placita* material for the next chapter on comets.

From this list it emerges that Achilles offers parallel material to about 22 chapters in Aëtius. Most of these are found in book II, as is to be expected, since the main thrust of Achilles' compendium is in the area of astronomy, with brief material on cosmology. The only parallels to book I are found in the chapters on the ἀρχὴ τῶν ὅλων (cf. P 1.3) and the void (cf. P 1.18). In §32 he makes the same distinction between μετέωρα and μετάρσια that we find in the preface to A's book III (in P, but reading οὐράνια instead of μετέωρα). The final chapters of Achilles thus include chapters on

subjects which A deals with in book III, but the parallels found there are very limited.³⁰

It emerges from the above list—and will be further confirmed in the more detailed analyses we shall offer in support of our reconstruction of A's book II to presented in the next volume—that the *Placita* material offered by Achilles reveals strong parallels to A, but *cannot be reduced* to A or his direct tradition (i.e. P), as Diels wished. Aëtius and Achilles (together with the material in the *Doxographica Pasquali*) are best seen as cousin writings, sharing the same ancestry, but not having the same parentage. Their similarities can be explained by the hypothesis that they derive in part from the same anterior tradition, but were written quite independently of each other. Diels committed a major error in his handling of Achilles. His source hypothesis was, as he have seen, that Aëtius was derived from a *Vetusta Placita* tradition. He could have used the evidence of Achilles to strengthen his hypothesis considerably.³¹ Instead he tried to connect it directly to the Aëtius tradition. We see here once again the pernicious influence of his desire to reduce the body of the *Placita* as much as possible to a *single* tradition, at least from Theophrastus to Aëtius. Such a view is *excessively* reductionistic. As Achilles' evidence makes clear, the broader *Placita* tradition must have consisted of a *diversity* of strands, which in many cases cannot be reduced to each other. What marks this body of literature is rather a similarity of method, the contours of which will become clearer in our analysis of Aëtius' work and also when we attempt to trace this method all the way back to its origins in Aristotle.³²

The doxographical material in the Aratean tradition extends a little beyond what we have just found in Achilles. The following extra snippets should be noted.³³

³⁰ Also a stray *doxa* on the position of the earth parallel to the second half of book III Περὶ γῆς.

³¹ Cf. also Pasquali (1910) 222 and n.1, who also points to the additional material supplied by Wendland (1897). We note that in his demonstration of the existence of the VP in DG 178–223, Diels above all concentrates on material from Book IV which is paralleled in other sources. Very little is done with cosmological material; cf. only 198–201, 225ff. (but by then he is already looking for pre-VP material leading back to Theophrastus).

³² See the preliminary statement of our position above in the Introduction p. xixff., and see further Mansfeld (1990a) 3057–65.

³³ The material under (a) and (b) was not used by Diels.

(a) In the ms. Vaticanus gr. 191 there is a brief introductory treatise on astronomy entitled Ἐξ ἑτέρων σχολίων εἰσαγωγή edited by Maass under the rubric Anonymus I.³⁴ Its contents are similar to Achilles but much shorter, consisting of only six chapters. In §3, 92.34–93.2 Maass we find some material on the question of the void which adds an extra detail to the extract in Achilles §8, parallel to P 2.9 and 1.18.

(b) In the ms. Parisinus suppl. gr. 607A a different set of introductory material is found with the title Περί τῶν οὐρανίων edited by both Maass (under the title *Isagoga bis excerpta*) and Martin.³⁵ It consists of 25 chapters, some very brief. The chapter on the moon, §18,³⁶ consists of only a few lines, much briefer than Achilles §19 & 21, but it does contain the *doxa* that the moon is a kind of mirror which is not found in Achilles, whereas it is present in A, cf. S 1.26.1^e. The previous chapter on the sun, §17, also contains *placita* corresponding to P 2.20, with the name-label of Anaxagoras breaking the anonymity, i.e. a shortened version of the example used by Achilles in §2.

(c) In the scholia found in the Aratean mss. there are a small number of doxographical snippets on meteorological phenomena:

(i) *ad* 940, 515.27–516.10 Maass, 455.1–14 Martin: on the rainbow. Lemmata of Anaximenes and Metrodorus, cf. A at P 3.5.4, 6, but no verbal resemblances at all.

(ii) *ad* 1091, 545.8–546.25 Maass, 508.7–510.19 Martin:³⁷ on comets. Lemmata shared with A are the Pythagoreans and Anaxagoras-Democritus (but not Posidonius, who is not found in the parallel chapter in A). Again there is no verbal convergence.³⁸

Diels briefly examined these scholia at *DG* 231–2 and sketched a set of relations involving Aristotle, Theophrastus, Posidonius and Aëtius.³⁹ We shall not presume on these results, which can only be checked via a thorough investigation of the tradition of meteorological *Placita*. Provisionally we conclude that they appear to be of little or no value for the reconstruction of A.

4. *The Doxographica Pasquali and the Hexaemeron tradition*

Another important commentary tradition in the ancient, Byzantine and medieval period was the *Hexaemeron* literature giving

³⁴ Maass (1898) 89–98; cf. further Martin (1956) 130f., who does not print it in his edition of the scholia.

³⁵ Maass (1898) 317–22, Martin (1974) 23–31, cf. (1956) 263ff.

³⁶ Maass 319.9–12, Martin 27.18–28.2.

³⁷ Another version of the text found in Parisinus gr. 2422 is printed at Edelstein-Kidd (1972) fr. F131b.

³⁸ As Diels *DG* 231 noted, the *doxai* of Hippocrates the Pythagorean and οἱ λοιποὶ at 510.15 Martin are closer to the Aëtian lemma at P 3.2.1 than the earlier report at 508.8, but the only term shared is ἀνάκλασις.

³⁹ Further parallel material is indicated by Kidd (1988) 491. But see the review of Algra (1991) 317f., who points to problems in the handling of ‘Posidonius the doxographer’.

exegesis of the Mosaic creation account in Genesis 1–2.⁴⁰ The most famous of these works are the *Homiliae in Hexaemeron* of Basil of Caesarea (c. 330–379). Basil gives an account of the biblical cosmogony which combines literal exegesis at a popularizing level with various, mainly disdainful, references to the doctrines of Greek philosophers in the area of cosmology (above all in the first three sermons).⁴¹ All Basil's references to these philosophers are couched in anonymous terms.⁴² Not even Plato or Aristotle are mentioned by name. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that readers throughout the centuries have tried to establish the identity of the *anonymi* to whom he refers. Among these are some ancient or Byzantine scholiasts with access to doxographical material.⁴³ The more important scholia were edited and analysed in 1910 by Pasquali in an outstanding article.⁴⁴ Hence the title we have given them. Some further interesting snippets were published in 1982–83 by Poljakov.⁴⁵ Diels did not have access to this material for his *Doxographi Graeci*, except for two fragments printed by Cramer in 1836, which he mentions in a footnote.⁴⁶

Of the 30 fragments found in Pasquali's collection the following are relevant to the study of Aëtius:⁴⁷

⁴⁰ On this literature see the overview of Van Winden (1988) and the more detailed treatment of Robbins (1912).

⁴¹ Best, but still sketchy, source analysis in Amand de Mendieta (1985). The earlier analyses of Gronau (1914), Courtonne (1934) and Giet (1949) are wholly out-dated.

⁴² But for a text in which he clearly utilizes the tradition of the *Placita* see below on Isidore *Ep.* 2.273.

⁴³ The mss. containing the scholia date from the 9th to the 14th century. We are unable to fix the date of this scholiastic activity with any precision.

⁴⁴ Pasquali (1910), repr. in La Penna (1986) 539–74. Pasquali spent the years 1908–10 in Germany. The article was a by-product of the task of making an inventory of the mss. of Basil's treatise, financed—as he tells us—by the Wilamowitz-Stiftung (presumably as part of the preparations for the GCS project of the Prussian Academy). Although Pasquali spent most of his time in Göttingen (where the paper was presented to the Academy by Leo), the article reveals that he had personal contact with Diels (note to 221). See further La Penna (1986) 1.xxxii.

⁴⁵ Poljakov (1982–3). Most, but not all, of these correspond to Pasquali's collection. Further scholia ignored by Pasquali have been published by Cataldi Palau (1987), but these contain no doxographical material, except a mention of Aristotle's view that the cosmos had no beginning (with a reference to *De caelo*, = no. H).

⁴⁶ Cramer (1835–37) 3.413, referred to at *DG* 19 n. 1, where Diels perceptively observes the relation to Achilles.

⁴⁷ Cf. Pasquali (1910) 195–201; we retain his Roman numbering. Polja-

- I–III (*ad In Hex.* 1.2, 92.13ff. Giet): cf. P 1.3, S 1.10 on the ἀρχαί, but the formulation is much closer to texts in ps.Galen, Sextus Empiricus and ps.Clement than A.
- IV (*ad In Hex.* 1.2, 92.16): single *doxa* of Epicurus on γένεσις and φθορά, cf. P 1.23, S 1.20.
- XIV (*ad In Hex.* 1.4, 102.11): on the lengths of time of planetary motion, cf. P 2.32.
- XV (*ad In Hex.* 1.4, 104.2): doxography on φθορά τοῦ κόσμου, cf. P 2.4.
- XXII (*ad In Hex.* 1.7, 118.14): on the οὐσία of the heavens, cf. P 2.11.
- XXIII (*ad In Hex.* 1.8, 120.8): on the σχῆμα of the heavens, cf. P 2.2.
- XXV (*ad In Hex.* 1.8, 122.6): on the position of the earth, cf. P 3.11; further lemmata at IV*.
- XXVI (*ad In Hex.* 1.10, 126.18): on the motion of the earth, cf. P 3.13.

For the analysis of this material the essentials have been stated by Pasquali.⁴⁸ Although the material is clearly related to Aëtius, its formulation is much closer to what is found in Achilles (which we examined in the previous section). Compare the following lemmata:⁴⁹

Aëtius	Dox. Pasq.	Achilles
P 2.2: οἱ μὲν Στωικοὶ σφαιροειδῆ τὸν κόσμον, ἄλλοι δὲ κωνοειδῆ, οἱ δ' ὠροειδῆ.	XXIII: σχῆμα οὐρανοῦ· οἱ μὲν σφαιροειδέες, οἱ δὲ κωνοειδέες, (οἱ δὲ ὠροειδέες), ἧς ἔχονται δόξης οἱ Ὀρφικοί.	§6, 37.8: σχῆμα δὲ κόσμου οἱ μὲν κωνοειδέες, οἱ δὲ σφαιροειδέες, οἱ δὲ ὠροειδέες, ἧς δόξης ἔχονται οἱ τὰ Ὀρφικὰ μυστήρια τελούντες.
P 2.11: Ἀναξιμένης τὴν περιφορὰν τὴν ἑξωτάτῳ γήινῃν... Ἐμπεδοκλῆς στερέμνιον εἶναι τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐξ ἀέρος συμπαγέντος ὑπὸ πυρὸς κρυσταλλοειδῶς...	XXII: τῶν οὐρανῶν οἱ μὲν πυρώδη τὴν οὐσίαν εἶπον· Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ ὑδροπαγῇ καὶ οἰονεὶ κρυσταλλῶδες ἐπέιλημα· ἄλλοι δέ...	§5, 34.25: τὸν δὲ οὐρανὸν οἱ μὲν πυρώδη εἶναι καὶ στερέμνιον... Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ κρυσταλλῶδη τοῦτον εἶναι φησιν ἐκ τοῦ παγετώδους συλλεγέντα, Ἀναξίμανδρος δέ...
P 3.11: οἱ ἀπὸ Θάλεω τὴν γῆν μέσην. Ξενοφάνης πρῶτην, εἰς ἄπειρον (γὰρ) ἐρριζώσθαι.	IV*: Διογένης ὁ Ἀπολλωνιάτης ὑπὸ ἀέρος φέρεσθαι ἐφ' τὴν γῆν. Παρμενίδης ἐν τῇ στιχοποιίᾳ ὕδατόριζον εἶπε τὴν γῆν. (= XXV)	§4, 34.3: ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἔστηκεν ἡ γῆ...

kov's additions are marked with an asterisk.

⁴⁸ Pasquali (1910) 218–26.

⁴⁹ We give only directly comparable passages; further analysis will be given in vol. II.

	Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος οὐκ οἶται μετέωρον εἶναι τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ κάτω εἰς ἄπειρ(ον) καθήκειν.	Ξενοφάνης οὐκ οἶται μετέωρον εἶναι τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ κάτω εἰς ἄπειρον καθήκειν. (and two verses cited) ⁵⁰
P 3.13: οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι μένειν τὴν γῆν. Φιλόλαος δ' ὁ Πυθαγό- ρειος...	XXVI: τὴν γῆν ἀκίνη- τον ἔφη Παρμενίδης ὁ Ἐλεάτης Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος· Πλάτων δὲ αὐτὴν ἴλλεσθαί φησι...	

It is immediately apparent that the *Dox. Pasq.* preserve authentic *Placita* material, but of a kind that cannot be derived directly from A. Pasquali argued that the scholiast had drawn it directly from Ach. A problem for this hypothesis is that his fragments (augmented by Poljakov) contain differently phrased (XXII Empedocles) and extra (IV* Diogenes) lemmata. A response to this objection might be that the remains of Ach only represent *excerpts* from the original work, whereas the scholiast could have had access to the fuller original version. Pasquali's hypothesis certainly seems plausible. For our purposes, however, it is of minor significance whether the scholiast derived his information from Ach or from a very similar source, or whether both of them are indebted to an anterior source. What is important is that they give access to a tradition of *Placita* distinct from Aëtius' compendium, yet so closely related that they should be taken into account in the task of its reconstruction.

As an appendix to these Basilian scholia we briefly mention some passages in the Letter collection of the Egyptian desert father Isidore of Pelusium (c. 365–c. 435).⁵¹ Attention was drawn to these passages by Bayer in a dissertation on Isidore's use of classical authors. He argued that they reveal use of the manuals of Arius Didymus and Aëtius, but this cannot be proven.⁵² We note two

⁵⁰ See above p. 303 on Achilles §4, 34.11–15.

⁵¹ On the problems posed by the Isidoran corpus and the deficiencies of the text printed in Migne cf. Runia (1991) 295–9 = (1995) 155–9.

⁵² Bayer (1915) 66–72, citing various texts from the *DG*. His analysis is very poor; e.g. in citing 2.43 at 66 he prints *θρεπτήν* instead of *τρεπτήν*, while at 4.125 he fails to recognize that of the textual variants printed by Possinus

texts in particular. In the first, Isidore argues that many things remain unclear to the human mind and that the study of natural science is a waste of time because it contributes nothing to the acquisition of holiness (the same ‘Socratic’ topos which we have earlier noted in Eusebius and Theodoret⁵³):⁵⁴

Let us see, therefore, what yields profit for blessedness and what does not, and in this way let us test the assertions (i.e. of the philosophers). To assert that the heaven is a sphere or a hemisphere, or to busy oneself with the immensely swift course of the sun and the waning and the waxing of the moon and the positioning of the stars, and to make inquiries about the earth, whether it is a cylinder or shaped like a winnowing fan or is the centre of the universe, and to know the distances of the heaven and of the earth, what all this contributes to the most excellent way of life escapes me entirely...

Various of the subjects dealt with in Aëtius books II–III can be recognized here. For the questions on the heavenly bodies Isidore gives no alternatives, and could have in mind non-doxographical primers such as Cleomedes, Theon Smyrnaeus, Geminus. In the case of the heaven as a whole and the earth mutually exclusive alternatives are given, and both the subjects and the *doxai* recall the *Placita*.⁵⁵ Of most interest are the *doxai* on the shape of the earth. κύλινδρος corresponds to Anaximander’s column-like shape in P, λικνοειδής (like a winnowing fan)⁵⁶ resembles Democritus’ ‘disc-like in surface but hollow in the middle’. For these *doxai* Isidore has not consulted the *Placita* directly, but taken them

in a footnote—πλήσεις instead of πτήσεις and ὀχήματα instead of χρήματα—at least the first *must* be correct. Of the three quotes brought in relation to AD the first is so general that it could be taken from anywhere, while the other two have nothing to do with the passages cited as parallels.

⁵³ See above p. 139f. and 276.

⁵⁴ *Ep.* 2.273 (PG 78.704A): σκοπήσωμεν οὖν, τί ἡμῖν λυσιτελεῖ εἰς μακαριότητα, τί δ’ οὐ· καὶ οὕτως βασανίσωμεν τὰ λεγόμενα. τὸ λέγειν ἢ σφαῖραν εἶναι τὸν οὐρανὸν ἢ ἡμισφαῖριον· καὶ τὸ πολυπραγμονεῖν ἡλίου μὲν τὸν ὠκύτατον δρόμον, σελήνης δὲ μειώσεις τε καὶ αὐξήσεις, καὶ τῶν ἄστρον τὴν θέσιν· καὶ τὸ ζητεῖν περὶ γῆς, ἢ κύλινδρος ἔστιν ἢ λικνοειδής ἢ κέντρον τοῦ παντός, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου ἢ ταύτης διαστήματα εἰδέναι, τί συμβάλλεται εἰς ἀρίστην πολιτείαν ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ συνορῶ...

⁵⁵ The shape of the heaven as such is not discussed in A no doubt because it is seen as directly related to the question of the cosmos’ shape (cf. P 2.2). Strictly speaking, of the three alternatives on the earth the first two refer to its shape (cf. 3.10) and the third to its position (cf. 3.11). But no doubt the *doxa* of the earth as κέντρον τοῦ παντός also implies its spherical shape. On the subject of the distances of the heaven and the earth cf. P 2.31.

⁵⁶ According to the TLG the term is only found in these two texts (except a lexical item in the *Souda*).

over from Basil's last *Homily on the Hexaemeron* (9.1, 480.10–16), where we find these same three alternatives, with a fourth (disc-shaped) added as well. Basil is in fact very close to A as we find in P.⁵⁷ It is equally possible that Basil (who studied in Antioch in the 350's, one generation before Nemesius and two before Theodoret wrote their works) used A or that he drew on the broader tradition. The matter cannot be decided because our picture of this chapter in A is incomplete.⁵⁸

The second passage is found in *Ep.* 4.58, where Isidore, starting from the reference to ἀστέρες πλανῆται in Jude 13, broaches various astronomical themes. The illustration of the motion of the planets through the image of the ant moving on a cartwheel contrary to its motion is derived from an astronomical compendium.⁵⁹ Much more interesting for our purpose is the diaeresis of various alternatives on the nature of the stars:⁶⁰

On the subject of whether the stars are rational living beings, as some affirm, or fiery spheres, or disc-shaped bodies enflamed by etherial fire, or spherical compressions of fire, or iron clumps (for some of the philosophers preach this doctrine) or vehicles receptive of immaterial and hyper-cosmic light, I would not wish to make any strong claims; for I am of the opinion that this subject contributes nothing for the attainment of the best way of life...

The six *doxai* recalls the various opinions in A at P 2.13, S 1.23, but clearly have not been taken directly from either source. The similarity to §11 in Ach is also not great.⁶¹ The material is in fact closer to the *doxai* on the same subject outlined by Philo in an important sceptical text.⁶² We shall use these Isidoran texts when

⁵⁷ On the *doxai* on the earth in Book III and their anterior tradition see Mansfeld (1992a) 103–9, who does not adduce these passages, but refers to other texts in Martianus Capella and Cleomedes. These, however, are not quite as close to A.

⁵⁸ The evidence of S is missing, and T does not mention the subject.

⁵⁹ Cf. Cleomedes 1.2, 30.13 Ziegler, Achilles 20, 48.16ff. Maass, Vitruvius 9.1.15.

⁶⁰ Text at PG 78.1113A (we include Possinus' emendations mentioned above in n. 52): εἴτε οὖν λογικά ἐστι ζῶα, ὥς φασί τινες, εἴτε πύρινοι σφαῖραι, εἴτε δισκοειδῆ σώματα ἐκ τοῦ αἰθερίου πυρὸς ἐξαφθέντα, εἴτε σφαιροειδεῖς πυρὸς πηλῆσεις, εἴτε μυδροὶ (τινὲς γὰρ τῶν φιλοσόφων τοῦτ' ἐδογμάτισαν), εἴτε ὀχήματα δεκτικὰ τοῦ αὔλου καὶ ὑπερκοσμίου φωτός, οὐ σφόδρα ἰσχυρισάμεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ τοῦτο πρὸς ἀρίστην πολιτείαν συντείνειν ἡγοῦμαι...

⁶¹ See above p. 304.

⁶² *Somn.* 1.21; see below p. 317f.

we tackle the reconstruction of the relevant chapter in A. They are related to A in the same way that Ach and the *Dox. Pasq.* are. They run parallel to A because they are drawn from the broader stream of the *Placita*, which (in the hypothesis of Diels) goes back to the *VP* and, as we shall show, ultimately can be traced all the way back to Aristotle.

5. *Athenagoras*

Going back in time, we return now to the early Christian apologist Athenagoras,⁶³ whom Diels designated as the first source to make use of P, and thus used in order to fix its *t.a.q.*⁶⁴ Not only does he in his *Legatio pro Christianis* plainly make use of the *Placita*, but he also tells that he is doing so. When he commences to give a brief run-down of Platonic and Aristotelian theology he excuses himself before the learned co-emperors and says that he has turned ἐπὶ τὰς δόξας (since presumably they give a compact account; another reference to the *doxai* at §24.1).⁶⁵ Because it is important to try to determine whether Athenagoras has used P or A, we give a list of all passages that bear some relation to the *Placita* tradition.⁶⁶

§6.1: the Pythagorean lemmata on God and the number one, with name-labels Philolaus, Lysis and Opsimus, find no equivalent in A at P 1.3 & 7, and S 1.1 & 10. Diels *DG* 5 dismisses too easily the suggestion of Volkmann (1869) 169 that they come from A (or rather AD as he thought). The strongest argument against is that the apologist only introduces the δόξαι *after* these lemmata, which suggests he is turning to another source. Geffcken (1907) 174 strangely regards the material as coming from a 'Hellenistische doxographie', which reached him through the intermediation of Jewish predecessors.

⁶³ Traditionally regarded as an Athenian; the evidence connecting him with Alexandria is too thin to persuade, *pace* Pouderon (1992).

⁶⁴ See above, Ch. 1, p. 75f. and Ch. 3, p. 124f.

⁶⁵ The reference is misunderstood by the unbelievably acerbic Geffcken (1907) 174, who quite needlessly interposes another source between the apologist and the *Placita*.

⁶⁶ Aided by the remarks of Diels *DG* 4–5, Geffcken's commentary (1907), Schoedel (1972), Marcovich (1990b). With reluctance we follow the numbering in Marcovich's new edition, (1990b), which has quite unnecessarily altered the sub-section numbers in the text of Schoedel. The editor's references to Aëtius are not as helpful as they might be, since he does not distinguish between direct usage and simple parallels. E.g. on p. 5 at 6.31–38 he omits to say that A (or P) is directly cited on Stoic theology, while the reference to A 1.9.4–5 at 10.14–19 is no more than the vaguest parallel.

§6.2: The δόξαι are introduced, as noted above.

§6.3: For the view of Plato on God Athenagoras cites the standard texts *Tim.* 28c and 41a rather than A's lemma at P 1.7.6, S 1.1.29^b (cf. the method of S, who also replaces Platonic *doxai* with the original, cf. above Ch. 4, §7). We note that his admission that Plato is polytheistic accords with the additional material in S against P at 37.9–15 Wachsmuth, where A describes the sun, moon and stars (same order as in Athenagoras) as τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ ἔκγονα.

§6.4: Very clearly a paraphrase of A as found at P 1.7.7 (the lemma is truncated at S 1.1.29^b, because he later (§36) quotes a long section from Ps.Arist. *De Mundo* 6). The scepticism of Schoedel (1972) 15 n. is unfounded. We note that Athenagoras expands the name-label to 'Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ οἱ ἄπ' αὐτοῦ, a very common form of expression in the *Placita*.

§6.5: Athenagoras paraphrases A as found in P 1.7.8 and S 1.1.29^b. We note three textual variants: (i) παραλλάξεις, cf. P rather than S (but the text is hopelessly corrupt); (ii) ἐπὶ γενέσει, cf. S rather than P; (iii) καθ' οὓς ἕκαστα καθ' εἰμαρμένην γίγνεται, cf. P rather than S (who has ἅπαντα). Diels *DG* 5 pounces on the last case to show that Athenagoras read P rather than A as found in S, but this single example cannot be conclusive. The final section on God as Zeus and Hera is not attributed to the Stoics in the *Placita* (but cf. P 1.3.20 on Empedocles).

§16.1: Probably a very loose paraphrase of 1.6 879D–E; cf. the parallel columns at Diels *DG* 5. We do not know for sure whether this chapter was present in A, since it is missing in S.

§16.2: Two oblique references to the *Placita* here. (i) εἴτε οὐσία καὶ σῶμα, ὡς οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Περιπάτου,... τῷ ἀπαθεί ἄερί κατ' αὐτοὺς τὴν παθητὴν ὕλην προσκυνούντες recalls P 2.7.5, S 1.22.1^b (cf. Schoedel (1972) 33 n.), where we read: 'Ἀριστοτέλης πρῶτον μὲν αἰθέρα ἀπαθεί, πέμπτον δὲ τι σῶμα· μεθ' ὃν παθητὰ πῦρ ἄερα ὕδωρ· τελευταίαν δὲ γῆν. All the mss. of P read ἄερα, so that could be the source of the comment. There is, however, an alternative interpretation, namely to read αἰθέρι in Athenagoras as well, the argument then being that the Peripatetics may claim that ether is impassible, but from our theological angle we know that it is no more impassible than the other elements. (ii) The description of the parts of the cosmos as δυνάμεις may again recall the Platonic lemma at S 1.1.29^b, 37.12 Wachsmuth.

§22.1: This passage on Empedocles cannot come from P 1.3.10, and is closer to the ps.Plutarchean passage at S 1.10.11^b.

§23.2: The lemma on Thales is an accurate conflation of P 1.7.2 and 1.8.2 (in the latter case reducing the name-labels to one).

§23.2–4: Among all the Platonic material there are two further echoes of the *Placita*: (i) at §23.2 the words τὸ ὄντως ὄν, τὸ μονοφυές, τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἄπ' αὐτοῦ ἀποχεόμενον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια plainly cite and adapt the lemma on Plato at 1.7.8, S 1.1.29; (ii) at §23.3 he refers again to the astral gods as περὶ τῶν ἐκ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ... λεγομένων, which may again recall the final section of the Platonic lemma at S 1.1.29, 37.13ff. Wachsmuth (cf. Geffcken (1907) 212).

§25.2: The Aristotelian lemma on providence agrees in doctrine with P 2.3.3, 2.4.5 (both also in S), but there is no verbal parallelism. Since this view is so common, no use of the *Placita* need be postulated.

It can be conceded to Diels that the majority of passages referring to the *Placita* could come from P. Yet the evidence is not conclusive. For example, the textual variants at §6.5 are split between P and S, and there are possible references to part of a Platonic *doxa* not preserved in P. For this reason we prefer to give a verdict of *non liquet*, i.e. that Athenagoras used either A or P. The importance of this conclusion lies in the fact that we can no longer cite Athenagoras as the *t.a.q.* for P, as Diels wished, but can only use him as such for A. This means that the earliest witness for the *Epitome* are the 3rd century papyrus fragments.⁶⁷ Athenagoras' references form an interesting example of how the *Placita* could be put to use in practice. The actual material presented is too limited to be of any value for the purposes of reconstruction.⁶⁸

6. *Hermias*

Another intriguing early Christian document which has been thought to be related to Aëtius is the Διασυρμὸς τῶν ἔξω φιλοσόφων or *Irrisio gentilium philosophorum* attributed in the mss. to Hermias the philosopher. Nothing is known about the author or the original context of the work. The relatively unsophisticated style and negative attitude towards pagan thought suggest a date between 150 and 250, but such grounds are hardly conclusive. If we compare the somewhat similar document of ps.Justin, we see that such a document could also be situated in the 4th century.⁶⁹ The question of authorship and date of composition has recently been discussed at length by the authors of the Sources Chrétiennes edition.⁷⁰ Kindstrand's theory that the work was originally a

⁶⁷ Discussed above in Ch. 3, §3.

⁶⁸ In the notes to his translation of the other work attributed to Athenagoras, *De resurrectione*, Schoedel (1972) makes various references to Aëtius. These are far too general to be more than vague parallels, i.e. the kind of philosophical material the theologian may have had in his baggage when composing his work. E.g. if at §3.2 the words ἐκ σπερμάτων refer to the ὁμοιομερείαι of Anaxagoras, it should be noted that the term σπέρματα is *not* found in the chapters in A and P on the ἀρχαί. The authenticity of this work has often been doubted. It is more likely to have been written in the 3rd or early 4th century. See Runia (1992b) 321ff. = (1995) 111ff. with further references to the literature.

⁶⁹ If the attribution to Marcellus of Ancyra proposed by Riedweg is accepted; see above Ch. 3, p. 166.

⁷⁰ Hanson & al. (1993). The team based in Manchester included R. Bauckham, G. B. Kerferd, C. M. Tuckett.

pagan sceptic work to which a Christian preface was added is convincingly refuted.⁷¹ The best chronological clue they can find is the statement in §1 that the source of worldly wisdom, i.e. pagan philosophy, is the apostasy of the angels. This theory, based on an exegesis of Gen. 6:4, was popular at the turn of the 3rd century, but after this period falls into oblivion. The dating to about 200 CE which they suggest for the treatise seems eminently plausible.

Diels, who regarded the work as a late and inferior product, included it as the last of the documents in the *DG* because he thought that its polemical account of the doctrines of the philosophers contained valuable nuggets of doxographical material.⁷² Hanson and his team pick up his discussion and devote a number of pages to a discussion of the work's relation to the 'tradition doxographique'.⁷³ Two passages in the work claim their attention on account of a possible relation to Aëtius and the mainstream of the tradition.

(i) §2, 96.10–98.6 Hanson. Hermias illustrates the *dissensio philosophorum* announced in §1 with various theories on the nature of the soul. Fourteen *doxai* are outlined in the baldest fashion, paratactically and without name-labels.⁷⁴ The first eight are found

⁷¹ Kindstrand (1980), who argued that only §1, in which 1 Cor. 3:19 is cited, was written by a Christian author. Either the author converted to Christianity and added the prefatory chapter himself, or another author reworked the treatise for apologetic purposes. Hanson & al. point out (p. 21) that §17 betrays acquaintance with Is. 40:12. This does not rule out the reworking of pagan philosophical materials, but makes Kindstrand's mechanical source-hypothesis very unlikely (as it is on *a priori* grounds anyway).

⁷² Text at *DG* 651–6, comments at 259–63.

⁷³ Hanson & al. (1993) 25–37. It is claimed (p. 25) that practically all problems have been solved by Diels (cf. above p. 71, n. 30). It goes without saying, in the light of our Ch. 1–2 above, that we disagree with this judgment. On p. 26 a very schematic diagram of his theory is given. Aristotle's place at the top of the diagram goes beyond Diels, and is to be applauded, even if it is placed here for the wrong reasons (see n. 77). The rest of the schema, however, is far from satisfactory. We note that the central place of Theophrastus' Φυσικῶν δόξαι (*sic!*) is retained and a direct line is postulated from this document to Hippolytus. These lines do represent Diels' theory in broad terms, but hardly measure up to the state of scholarly research in the nineties of our century.

⁷⁴ If we follow the printed texts. But, as the text in Diels and the *app. crit.* in Hanson & al. show, seven name-labels are in fact included in the mss. Since Menzel these have been regarded as glosses, and both Diels and Hanson & al. delete them from their text. Diels argued that the labels had been imported from Nemesius §2 (on which see above p. 293f.). Mansfeld

in exactly the same sequence in ps.Justin. Here again Diels went astray by trying to argue that, contrary to appearances, Hermias wrote out ps.Justin and added the extra *doxai* from his own reading or from a handbook (*DG* 261). Hanson and his team demonstrate, through a careful collection of parallels,⁷⁵ that this collection obviously cannot be reduced to A or P (or, for that matter, N) on account of the extra material it contains, but must go back to the broader *Placita* tradition.⁷⁶ Remarkably two *doxai* appear to have parallels only in Aristotle's doxography in *De anima* A 2.⁷⁷ They further rightly contend that it is not unlikely that ps.Justin copied out Hermias, but certainly not the other way around.⁷⁸

(ii) §11, 106.14–108.2. Various statements are made about Plato and his philosophy: (α) Plato is a μεγαλόφωνος; (β) his ἀρχαί are God, matter and the model; (γ) he invented⁷⁹ the chariot of Zeus (i.e. in the *Phaedrus* myth). The Middle Platonist doctrine of the three principles is not found in this form in A or P.⁸⁰ For the other two statements, which are also found together in ps.Justin §31, Hanson and his team put forward wholly unconvincing arguments to show that Hermias may have been dependent on A. In the former case the word is found at P 1.7 881A, so, they argue, he might have derived it from there rather than from ps.Justin. In a further move they suggest that the fact that the same theme is also found earlier in Dionysius of Halicarnassus means that Hermias probably found it in A.⁸¹ This of course will not do. At most the convergence of the three texts suggests a shared critical tradition on Plato's style, but in no way points specifically to the *Placita* and

(1990a) 3072 shows that this solution is facile, and points out significant differences between the labels in the two sources. On the other hand it must be admitted that grammatically the names are difficult to include in the text.

⁷⁵ Hanson & al. (1990) 28–32.

⁷⁶ See also the brief remarks of Mansfeld (1990a) 3072.

⁷⁷ The *doxai* στοιχείων (ἧ) ἀπὸ στοιχείων (cf. 405b12) and καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰ ἐναντία (cf. 405b23). But these have been added to the *plac.* material at a much later date, i.e. not via Theophrastus, the *VP*, or A.

⁷⁸ Hanson & al. (1990) 34, 66; regarded as plausible by Riedweg (1994) 35.

⁷⁹ In the Christian context πεποιηκῶτι should not be taken to mean 'construct' but 'make up', 'invent'.

⁸⁰ Compare P 1.7.11, S 1.10.16a (ιδέα instead of παράδειγμα, which, however, is present at P 2.6.4). The doctrine is very common indeed by the 2nd century; cf. Dörrie-Baltes (1987-95) 4.118–22, 387–99.

⁸¹ Hanson & al. (1993) 34–35.

to A.⁸² As for the quote from *Phdr.* 246e, it is argued that, since a similar passage is found in Hippolytus *Ref.* 1.19, a discussion must have been located in Theophrastus! Hermias may thus have found it in A. Here we encounter a mechanical application of Diels' source theory that is entirely unconvincing.⁸³ It is quite impossible to draw a direct line from Hippolytus to Theophrastus and then back via the *Vetusta Placita* to Aëtius. The interesting traditions connecting Plato's style with his *Phaedrus* myth and his description of Zeus cannot be directly attached to the *Placita*. It is not even clear under which heading they would have been taken up.⁸⁴

We conclude, therefore, that the interesting little work of Hermias contains material that is related to the broader tradition of the *Placita*, as shown in the resemblances to ps. Justin and Nemesius, but in no way reveals a direct relation to the compendium of Aëtius.

7. Concluding remark: Philo Somn. 1.21–32 and other texts

Athenagoras' *Legatio*, which we discussed in §5 above, is the last surviving ancient text that is relevant for the identification and reconstruction of A. There are no other texts in which the verbal resemblances are so great that we must entertain the possibility that they had access to A or to P and its tradition. There are, of course, numerous other texts which bear a strong resemblance to the *Placita* and may be part of its broader tradition. Of these the most striking and important is probably the text in Philo of Alexandria's *De somniis* 1.21–32. Totally overlooked by Diels, it was analysed and an article was published on it with his *imprimatur* by Wendland almost 20 years later.⁸⁵ In an excursus illustrating the

⁸² On evaluations of Plato's style during the period 1st cent. BCE to 2nd cent. CE see the texts collected in Dörrie-Baltes (1987–95) 2.110–120.

⁸³ But a splendid illustration of the influence of Diel's theory more than a hundred years after the publication of the *Prolegomena*.

⁸⁴ The remark on Plato's style at P 1.7 881A belongs to a section on atheism within the chapter on theology, the method and contents of which differs somewhat from what we generally find in the *Placita*, and which shows the influence of both Epicurean and sceptical sources; see further the detailed analysis of Runia (1997).

⁸⁵ Wendland (1897); see further Mansfeld (1990a) 3117ff. Wendland argues that Philo made direct use of the *Vetusta Placita* postulated by Diels; it was Diels himself who presented Wendland's account as a memoir to the

allegorical meaning of the fourth well in Gen. 21:25, Philo poses a long series of questions on the nature of the heavens and the human intellect which betray a close relation to the contents of A's book II and IV,⁸⁶ but cannot be reduced to A itself (this is also important for chronological reasons, since Philo did not live much past 50 CE). Because the resemblances are so close (almost as close as in the case of Achilles), Philo may be able to help us a little with the reconstruction of A.⁸⁷ His evidence is much more important, however, for the task of determining A's relation to the anterior tradition. But as such he hardly stands alone. There is a vast corpus of texts in Cicero, Seneca, Galen, Tertullian, Sextus Empiricus and many other authors which are related to the broader tradition of the *Placita*. We shall return to these texts and these authors when we embark on the task of determining the anterior tradition used by Aëtius in compiling his own compendium.⁸⁸

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⁸⁶ Esp. to 2.11, 13–14, 16, 28, 4.2–3, 5, 7.

⁸⁷ As will become clear in our reconstruction in vol. II.

⁸⁸ A start has been made on doxographies on the soul by Mansfeld (1990a) *passim* and on the earth by Mansfeld (1992a) 94–109.

CHAPTER SEVEN

WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT AËTIUS

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1. *The 'hard facts'*

There can be no doubt that Aëtius is a extremely shadowy figure. The hard facts—if that is the right phrase—about him and his work can be summarized in a few brief points.

(1) The substantial *verbatim* parallels between ps.Plutarch, Stobaeus and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Theodoret can only be explained through the postulation of a shared direct source.

(2) When Theodoret describes his doxographical sources he gives three names,¹ but of these the only one that can apply to the material held in common with ps.Plutarch and Stobaeus is the name of Aëtius. The bishop is the exclusive source of our knowledge of Aëtius' existence. No other ancient source mentions him.

(3) The title of Aëtius' work is indicated by Theodoret at *CAG* 4.31 when he writes ἀναγνώτω μὲν Ἀετίου τὴν Περὶ ἀρεσκόντων ξυναγωγὴν. The exact interpretation of this title is not immediately clear. We will discuss it in the third section below.

(4) For the date of the work a *tempus post quem* is given by the last philosopher mentioned, Xenarchus of Seleucia, who lived from about 80/75 BCE to the beginning of our era.² A *tempus ante quem* can only be furnished by P. This document, as we saw above, cannot be dated with any precision between the extremes of 100 and 250, but its date may be plausibly placed in about 150 CE.³

¹ Texts given above in Ch. 2, p. 77.

² Cf. Diels *DG* 100. We follow the dates of Moraux (1973–84) 1.197. See further the following section.

³ See above Ch. 3, p. 124ff. Its *t.a.q.* is determined by the approximate

(5) It may be regarded as absolutely certain that in the composition of his work Aëtius made extensive use of earlier source material. Such dependence is already proved by the extensive parallels found in Achilles, Philo and other authors.⁴ This is not to say that he will not have made his own contribution in the compilation of the work. But how can this contribution be determined? The parallels just mentioned offer but a little help. For the most part we will have to rely on the results of internal analysis of the work itself.

2. *The date and identity of Aëtius*

Such are the 'hard facts'. Around them a few more details can be embroidered. We return first to the question of Aëtius' date.

For the dating we have two kinds of evidence. The first is internal, and is based on the philosophers Aëtius records. There are in fact remarkably few names mentioned in the work which have to be dated to the 1st century BCE. The list can be restricted to four:

(i) Asclepiades of Bithynia is the last ἱατρός to be cited (5 times) in the *Placita*. Rawson argues on the basis of Cic. *De orat.* 1.62 that he must have been dead by 91 BCE.⁵ Other evidence suggests, however, that his activity may have extended to the 80's and 70's.⁶

(ii) The last major philosopher to be recorded is Posidonius (c. 135–51/50 BCE), who is named 9 times in Aëtius, less often than one might expect.⁷ In the compendium of Arius Didymus, where he appears in 4 fragments, he is also the youngest philosopher to be included among our fragments.⁸

(iii) A certain Timagoras is described at S 1.52.2 (on sight, cf. P 4.13) as an Epicurean revisionist (εἰς τῶν παραχαράξαντων ἐν συγχοίς τὴν Ἐπικούρειον αἴρεσιν). Cicero cites the same person on the same subject at *Acad.* 2.80, where the use of the present might

dating of the Antinoopolis papyri unknown to Diels.

⁴ See the last section of the previous chapter.

⁵ (1982) 360; followed by Frede (1987) 238, 244, Vallance (1990) 3 n. 1.

⁶ See the counter-arguments cited at Rawson (1982) 362ff., and also Goulet (1989), who does not pronounce on the matter.

⁷ E.g. in book III only on the milky way and tides; cf. the considerable number of frs. on meteorology and terrestrial phenomena in Edelstein and Kidd (1972) (notably from Seneca, probably a contemporary of Aëtius).

⁸ See the list above on p. 256f.

suggest that he is a contemporary. But this figure is altogether too obscure.⁹ We note too that the chapters 4.8–13 in A four times cite the Academics on epistemological subjects, but names such as Carneades, Clitomachus, Philo of Larisa and Antiochus do not occur.

(iv) Xenarchus of Seleucia, cited for his view of the soul at S 1.49.1^b, has already been mentioned above in the previous section. Our chief source of information on him is a short notice by his pupil Strabo. We are told that he was a Peripatetic, chose the life of a teacher (i.e. as a 'professional' philosopher), resided in Alexandria and Athens, and enjoyed the friendship of both Arius and Augustus. As Bowersock notes, the latter friendship doubtless came to him through the intermediation of Arius.¹⁰

Diels was quite right to emphasize that the position of Xenarchus in this list of 1st century figures is exceptional.¹¹ His date is a full two generations later than any other philosopher cited in the *Placita*. Diels' further extrapolation that A may have obtained this *doxa* through personal contact with the Peripatetic school (note that the name-label also includes τινὲς ἕτεροι τῆς αὐτῆς (i.e. Περιπατητικῆς) αἰρέσεως) is plausible, but quite impossible to prove. Diels, of course, needed the addition to be by A in order to rescue his *Vetusta Placita* hypothesis.¹² But his argument that the *doxa* adds little to the earlier Aristotelian view is not cogent. It represents a compromise between an incorporealist and a corporealist view of the soul. Hence its position towards the end of the chapter.¹³ If A added it himself, he did it in such a way that it meshes perfectly with the method of the *Placita*.

The second kind of evidence that can be used for purposes of dating is less cut and dried. It may be possible to compare the contents of the Aëtian *Placita* with contemporary philosophical developments. But two drawbacks immediately come into view. Firstly we know much less than we like about developments in philosophy in the period from 50 BCE to 100 CE. It is the obscurest

⁹ See Longo Auricchio–Tepedino Guerra (1981), (1982) and Erler (1994b) 285 on possible conflation with the Rhodian Epicurean Timasagoras.

¹⁰ Bowersock (1965) 33–4; see also Moraux (1973–84) 1.197. On Arius and Augustus see further above Ch. 4, p. 240.

¹¹ DG 100, 184.

¹² Explicitly at DG 185.

¹³ Cf. Mansfeld (1990a) 3083, where Moraux is criticized for not taking the structure of A's chapter into account.

period in the entire history of ancient philosophy. Numerous unanswered questions remain on the revivals of Platonism and Aristotelianism in this period, and on the continuation of the Epicurean and Stoic schools. Secondly the extreme concision of the *Placita* make it difficult to embark on the kind of terminological and thematic analysis that could yield concrete results. We have seen a possible link with the figure of Xenarchus the Peripatetic, and through him to Arius Didymus (*if* he is to be identified with the Stoic¹⁴). These tenuous links might point to a connection with Alexandria. Further investigation of correspondences with the remains of Arius Didymus (and Eudorus) may be illuminating. At the same time it would be worthwhile to adduce the evidence of Philo of Alexandria, esp. in relation to the beginnings of Middle Platonism.¹⁵ These studies will have to be undertaken at a later stage and their results cannot be anticipated here.

As for Aëtius' identity, it is not possible to identify our man with any known bearer of that name in antiquity.¹⁶ The name (meaning 'eagle-man') is not particularly common, despite the fact that it dates back to mythical times (Pausanias 2.32.8) and that the grammarian Herodian (2nd cent.) uses it as an example of a name ending in *τιος* (*Pros. cath.* 120.6 Lentz). There are few examples in the papyri,¹⁷ and none at all are recorded in the inscriptions of Attica, the Aegean Islands, Cyprus and Cyrenaica.¹⁸ The name seems to come into greater prominence in later antiquity (perhaps under the influence of the Latin equivalent *Aquila*).¹⁹ At this time we hear of the more famous bearers of the name, Aëtius the controversial Christian theologian and the doctor Aëtius of Amida. The single reference that is chronologically promising is the following epitaphic epigram by Philip of Thessalonica:²⁰

¹⁴ For the considerable doubts on this issue see above Ch. 4, p. 238ff.

¹⁵ For example the term *νοητὸς κόσμος* forms a link between Philo (the first author to use it, cf. *Opif.* 16–25, Runia (1986) 160) and Aëtius (cf. 1.7 at S 1.29^b 37.11 W., P 2.6.4).

¹⁶ *RE* 1.1 (1894) 700–4 notes eight more or less prominent Aetii (the article on our Aëtius by Gercke is limited to 18 lines); cf. also Fabricius (1790–1812⁴) 9.243–4, and above Ch. 1, n. 106–8.

¹⁷ Preisigke (1922) lists 6 exx., Foraboschi (1967) only one.

¹⁸ See Fraser & al. (1987–94).

¹⁹ See Jones & al. (1972–91): 2 examples in vol. 1 (260–395CE); 9 examples in vol. 2 (395–527); none in vol. 3 (527–641).

²⁰ *Garland of Philip LXXVIII*, = *Anth. Gr.* 7.362; text at Gow-Page (1968) 1.348. The last two lines (not cited) are corrupt. Quoted by Diels at *DG* 49.

ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὴν κεφαλὴν σορὸς ἦδε κέκευθεν
 'Αετίου χρηστοῦ, ῥήτορος εὐπρεπέος.
 ἦλθεν δ' εἰς 'Αἶδαο δέμας, ψυχὴ δ' ἐς "Ολυμπον

Philip resided in Rome and published his *Garland* during Claudius' reign.²¹ The date is right, and the fact that the man was rhetor is not an insuperable objection. But the identification helps us not a whit in our research on his work and its *Sitz im Leben*. It also does not help matters that the editors of the *Garland* regard the epigram as too feeble to be authentic.²²

3. *The title of Aëtius' work*

Apart from analysis of contents and sources, the one aspect of the above data that may furnish some interesting clues is the title of Aëtius' work as furnished by Theodoret. We shall first list some parallel material that sheds light on his description.

(i) The term συναγωγή is common in book titles. Examples of interest related to the doxographical tradition are:²³

1. Hippias *ap.* Athen. *Deipn.* 13 608F: συναγωγή
2. Aristotle *ap.* DL 5.24–25: τεχνῶν συναγωγή α' β' (and 2 similar titles = nos. 78, 83, 90)
3. Aristotle *ap.* Hesych., no. 187 Gigon: νομίμων βαρβαρικῶν συναγωγή
4. Theophrastus *ap.* DL 5.43: τῶν Διογένους συναγωγή α'
5. Theophrastus *ap.* DL 5.44: περὶ τῶν Μητροδώρου συναγωγῆς α'
6. Theophrastus *ap.* DL 5.45: προβλημάτων συναγωγῆς α' β' γ' δ' ε'
7. Theophrastus *ap.* DL 5.47: λόγων συναγωγῆς α'
8. Theophrastus *ap.* DL 5.47: τῶν Ξενοκράτους συναγωγῆς α'
9. Apollodorus of Athens (presumably the Epicurean 'Garden-tyrant') *ap.* DL 7.181: συναγωγή τῶν δογμάτων
10. Nichomachus of Gerasa *ap.* Syr. *in Met.* 1.103 Kroll: συναγωγαὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων δογμάτων
11. Boethius *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 154: Λέξεων Πλατωνικῶν συναγωγή κατὰ στοιχεῖον
12. Diogenes Laertius, title in ms. B: Φιλοσόφων βίων καὶ δογμάτων συναγωγή εἰς δέκα
13. Oribasius medicus (4th cent. CE): συναγωγαὶ ἱατρικαί (in 15 books)
14. Iamblichus *ap.* Syr. *in Met.* 1.103: συναγωγαὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων δογμάτων²⁴

²¹ Gow-Page (1968) 1.xlv–xlix argue that the date is 40 CE, but see now the arguments for a later date of Cameron (1993) 56–65.

²² Gow-Page (1968) 2.370.

²³ This list does not try to be exhaustive. The term is also very common in the titles of grammatical, lexical and gnomological works. Particularly helpful is the 'Index des titres' in Goulet (1989–94), but this indispensable work has so far only reached D.

²⁴ Cf. Mejer (1978) 86, Larsen (1972) 143.

15. Celsinus of Castabala *ap. Souda* K 1305, 3.93.2 Adler: Συναγωγή δογμάτων πάσης αἵρέσεως φιλοσόφου.²⁵

We note that in the case of nos. 4, 5, 8–10 and 14–15 the term is used for works that certainly recorded the views of philosophers, i.e. are doxographical in a broad sense of the word (but not necessarily using the same method that we find in Aëtius).

(ii) The word συναγωγή not only refers to a collection of material, but can also indicate a compact, summary-like treatment in the manner of an *epitome rei tractatae*.²⁶ This is clearly the case in the work of Oribasius, which excerpts and summarizes the medical science of Galen and other predecessors. It is generally thought that the allusion at DL 2.104 to Aristotle's ἐπιτομή τῶν ῥητόρων refers to his better known τεχνῶν συναγωγή.²⁷ Closer to Aëtius' own work, we note that Cyril refers to P's *Epitome* as ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ βιβλίῳ τῆς Φυσικῶν δογμάτων συναγωγῆς (*c. Jul.* 2.14),²⁸ though its mss. have the title Περί τῶν ἀρεσκόντων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις φυσικῶν δογμάτων ἐπιτομή.²⁹

(iii) The term ἀρέσκοντα (*placita* in Latin) is of course the technical term for the views of philosophers and others (e.g. doctors) on particular philosophical and scientific subjects. To give two examples out of many: Plutarch (*Mor.* 448A) states that philosophers such as Aristotle, Democritus and Chrysippus readily abandoned

²⁵ Date unknown. Scholars have understandably been tempted to identify this work with the work entitled *Opiniones omnium philosophorum* of Celsus cited by Augustine in the prologue to *De haeresibus* PL 42.23A. Cf. Goulet at *DPhA* 2.252. Diels *DG* 184, however, preferred an attribution of the latter work to the 1st cent. CE Latin encyclopedist Aulus Cornelius Celsus. Diels claimed (*ibid.*) that 'non ovum ovo similis quam Celsus vetustis Placitis'. If, however, the *VP* resembled A's compendium in the slightest degree, then this remark is completely on the wrong track. Augustine goes on to compare this work with Epiphanius' account of the heretical sects. In this light it is clear that Celsus must have given very brief and bald accounts of the whole thought of individual philosophers (somewhat like we find in Hippolytus *Ref.* Book I and in various chapters of Diogenes Laertius) and did not have the subject-orientated approach of A, where on each subject the views of individual philosophers are compared and contrasted with each other. I.e. Celsus' work stood in the tradition of the *Περί αἱρέσεων* and not of the *Placita* literature (for the distinction see the article on sources by Mansfeld forthcoming in the *Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy*).

²⁶ Cf. Opelt (1962) 946 and above, p. 189f.

²⁷ Cf. Rose fr. 138, Gigon fr. 127, Opelt (1962) 953; on this work see further Moraux (1951) 95–97.

²⁸ As we saw above Ch. 3, p. 166ff.

²⁹ On the title, which shows some variation (esp. between the various books), see above p. 122f., 182.

ἐνια τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοῖς ἀρεσκόντων; Galen (*De foet. form.* 1.1.4, 4.663.19 Kühn), discussing the formation of the various organs in the foetus (cf. Aëtius at P 5.17), states that until the first clear articulation of organs the foetus lives like a plant, ὡς δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἰατροῖς τε καὶ φιλοσόφοις εὖρον ἀρέσκον. More technically it can refer to a body of doctrines ascribed to a particular philosopher. Thus Diogenes Laertius (2.2) asserts that Anaximander produced for himself an τῶν ἀρεσκόντων αὐτῷ κεφαλαιώδης ἔκθεσις which the other Apollodorus of Athens made use of (in the *Chronita*, FGh 244F29), while at 3.68 he introduces his doxographical summary of Plato's doctrines with the words: τὰ δὲ ἀρέσκοντα αὐτῷ ταῦτα ἦν. Actual titles of works containing the term are not so common.³⁰ Apart from Aëtius and his tradition (including P) we can list:

16. Simplicius in *Ar. De caelo* 386.25 Heiberg, ὡς αὐτὸς Ἀριστοτέλης ἱστόρησεν ἐν τῇ τῶν Πυθαγορείοις ἀρεσκόντων συναγωγῇ, cf. 392.23 ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν ἱστορεῖ
17. Arius Didymus *ap.* Eus. *PE* 11.23, Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων Πλάτωνι συντεταγμένων
18. Albinus, Περὶ τῶν Πλάτωνι ἀρεσκόντων in at least 3 books³¹
19. Alexander Philalethes *ap.* Galen *De diff. puls.* 8.726.14, ἐν τῷ ε' τῶν ἀρεσκόντων (i.e. on medical subjects)
20. Diogenes Laertius, title in ms. L: Βίοι καὶ γνῶμαι τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ εὐδοκιμησάντων καὶ τῶν ἐκάστη αἰρέσει ἀρεσάντων τῶν εἰς δέκα
21. Porphyry, *V. Pyth.* 48.5 Nauck, Μοδέρατος ὁ ἐκ Γαδείρων πάνυ συνετῶς ἐν ἑνδεκα βιβλίοις συναγαγὼν τὸ ἀρέσκον τοῖς ἀνδράσι

It is questionable whether the first and last of these references can be interpreted to mean that ἀρέσκον/ἀρέσκοντα was actually part of the title. Also the work of AD listed is very likely to be identified with part of his *Epitome*.³² But these recorded titles do indicate that the title came easily to mind as a description of the contents of a book on the doctrines of a particular philosopher or school.

In his reconstruction Diels took the title of Aëtius' work to be Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων συναγωγή.³³ Dorandi records it as Συναγωγή

³⁰ Cf. the list of 'works on the 'opinions' of philosophers' at Mejer (1978) 86–7, most titles of which do not include the term ἀρέσκοντα.

³¹ Cf. Goulet (1989-94) 1.96; a full discussion of the text of the colophon in Whittaker (1974), with a photo of the ms.

³² See further above Ch. 4, p. 242ff.

³³ Indicated at *DG* 267. We note that Diels largely follows Theodoret's text, but does add the article τῶν, no doubt on the basis of ps.Plutarch's title.

τῶν ἀρεσκόντων, but he does not indicate the grounds for his deviation from Theodoret and Diels.³⁴ If we accept either of these proposals, then two aspects are somewhat unusual, though they can be separately paralleled.

(a) Firstly there is the combination of both ἀρέσκοντα and συναγωγή in the title. Cf. nos. 16 and 21, as well as Cyril's description of P. None of these texts, however, appear to give an actual title, but rather a description of the work. For example, Aristotle's work recording the doctrines of the Pythagoreans is recorded with no less than 10 different titles in the various sources, but it is probable that the version given by Diogenes Laertius in his πῖναξ, Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων, is the original title.³⁵

(b) Secondly we have the combination of both περί plus genitive and συναγωγή in the title. Here we can point to no. 5, Theophrastus Περὶ τῶν Μητροδώρου συναγωγῆς α'. Here it is strange that there is no noun in the nominative. It has been suggested that either the Περί be deleted (Usener) or the change be made to συναγωγή (Burn).³⁶ If left as it stands we must translate 'one book of a compendium on the doctrines of Metrodorus'.

The suggestions of Diels and Dorandi are not compelling. In the case of the former the combination of both συναγωγή and ἀρέσκοντα together with περί is to our mind not impossible but certainly rather awkward. The latter view makes good sense but unjustifiably deletes the preposition περί. We prefer another solution. Given the rather loose usage of the term συναγωγή in the period of later antiquity (cf. above Porphyry, Cyril, Simplicius), it is possible to interpret Theodoret's words as 'let him read the collection *'On Placita'*', i.e. the actual title of the work is simply Περὶ ἀρεσκόντων. This brings it in line with works such as n. 19 of Alexander Philalethes (on medical subjects) and of nos. 17 and 18 of Arius Didymus and Albinus (except that here there is no need for a proper name since all philosophers are dealt with, i.e. τοῖς φιλοσόφοις is understood).³⁷ The emphasis falls on the *Placita*, not

³⁴ Dorandi (1989) 58.

³⁵ 10 variants listed at Gigon (1987) 409. At DL 5.25 we read both Πρὸς τοὺς Πυθαγορείους α' and Περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων α'. Gigon chooses the former, but it seems to us that the latter is better attested, esp. since it also appears in the catalogue of Hesychius.

³⁶ Cf. Sollenberger (1985) 24.

³⁷ The ancient practice in the citation of titles was so loose that the title may well have been Περὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἀρεσκόντων.

those who hold them, as was also the case in Theophrastus' *Φυσικαὶ δόξαι* (not *Φυσικῶν δόξαι*).³⁸ We might compare the title *Περὶ δοξῶν* attributed to a certain Meleager at DL 2.92. This proposal also has the virtue of making the adaptation of the original title by P very understandable: the author begins with *Περὶ <τῶν> ἀρεσκόντων* and fills it out in three ways, (i) inserting the dative <τοῖς> φιλοσόφοις for the holders of the *doxai*, (ii) explicating the ἀρεσκόντων as *φυσικῶν δογμάτων*, and (iii) adding ἐπιτομή to indicate either that he is abbreviating a previous collection or that it is a summary account.³⁹

What might seem rather surprising, in the light of this title, is that Aëtius uses the terminology of ἀρέσκειν so little in the actual body of his work. As we noted above, the formula ἀρέσκει plus dative occurs only once in P and 5 times in the *placita* of S. Of these passages 4 certainly come from AD, who uses the term frequently in his surviving fragments.⁴⁰ On both occasions that it is found in Aëtius, it is used to introduce an additional view appended to the main body of the *doxa* (P 5.29.1, S 1.1.29b). It is possible, however, to give a very pragmatic explanation for this relative avoidance. A dominant stylistic feature of Aëtius' work is the fact that virtually every *doxa* begins with a name-label in the nominative. ἀρέσκειν cannot be used in this way for the simple reason that it is an impersonal verb and does not take a nominative as subject.

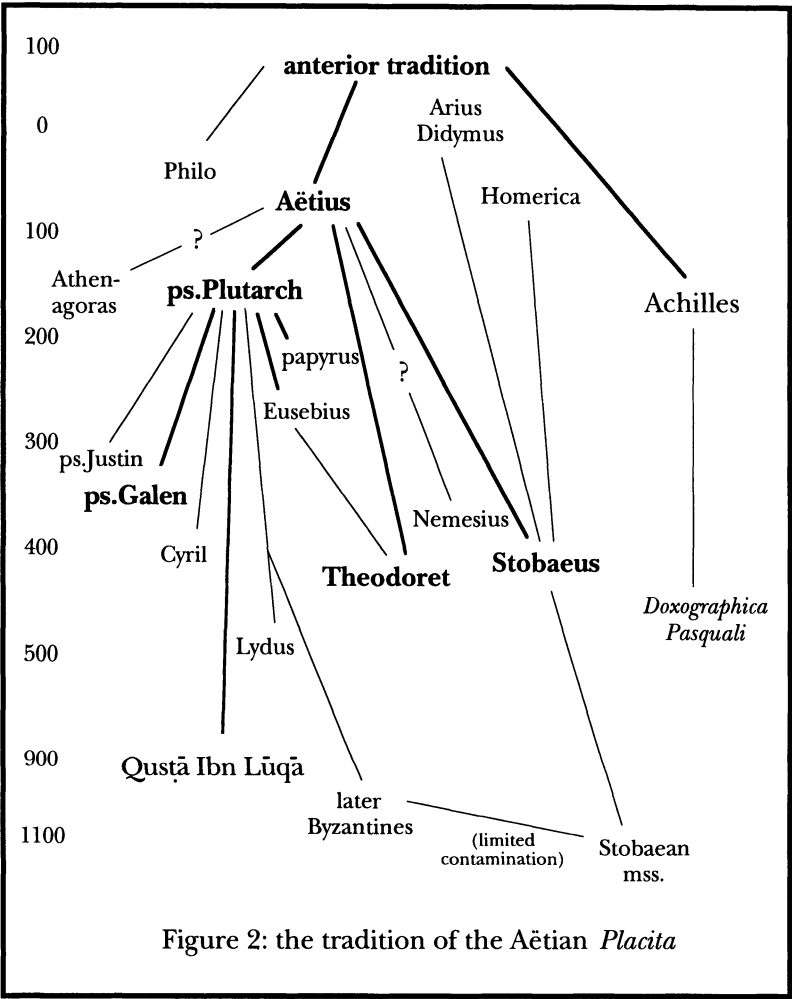
4. *A revised schema of transmission*

It is time to draw the threads together. On the basis of our detailed analysis of the sources available for the reconstruction of Aëtius, we are now in a position to present a revised schema of the inter-relationships between the various documents that make up the tradition of the Aëtian *Placita*. The reader is referred to the diagram on the following page. This schema should be compared with the earlier diagram on p. 81 representing Diels' hypothesis. It is important to note that the diagram does not presume on the

³⁸ See the discussion at Mansfeld (1992a) 63–6.

³⁹ On the ambiguity of the term ἐπιτομή (if it stood in the title, as seems likely) see above p. 182ff.

⁴⁰ See above Ch. 4, p. 233.



relationship of Aëtius to the earlier part of the tradition (which Diels associated with the *Vetusta Placita* and Theophrastus). This anterior tradition will not be investigated until we have had a closer look at the contents and method of Aëtius himself, which is precisely the task we shall undertake in the next volume. We have tried to place the various sources as accurately as possible in a chronological framework indicated by the time-line at the left. It is clear, however, that in number of cases, such as Arius

Didymus,⁴¹ Achilles, ps.Justin⁴² and ps.Galen, this placement is no more than approximate, as it indeed is for the protagonists ps.Plutarch and Aëtius themselves.

It is worth emphasizing, perhaps not entirely superfluously, that this diagram does not claim to represent anything like the ancient doxographical tradition or even the narrower tradition of the *Placita*. What it shows is how the various extant documents that shed light on Aëtius' compendium relate to each other (together with a few other sources that are mixed in the tradition). The diagram is restricted to what happens to have been transmitted to us. Presumably it is the tip of the proverbial iceberg. We cannot know with any precision how representative the collections of *Placita* which it contains are. What we have is a batch of specimens of doxographical works, each of them with a slightly different method and purpose. They give us a glimpse of what must have been a much broader stream of works, traces of which we find in numerous authors from Philo to Simplicius and from Cicero to Boethius and beyond.

5. *Final comments on the Dielsian hypothesis*

On the basis of our analysis of Diels' methods in chapter two and our own analysis of the sources for and witnesses to Aëtius in chapters three to six, we are now in a position to make some concluding comments on the hypothesis that for more than a century has been so dominant in the study of ancient philosophy.

There can be no doubt that the youthful Diels did do 'a splendid job'.⁴³ The Aëtian hypothesis is the strongest and most original part of his whole theory.⁴⁴ Of course it is and remains true that he was very much a child of his time. His hypothesis suffers from an excessive reliance on the stemmatic and synoptic methods of source analysis.⁴⁵ Both of these techniques aim to reduce the mass of doxographical material to a limited number of sources, and

⁴¹ If he is not to be identified with the Stoic philosopher Arius; see above Ch. 4, p. 238ff.

⁴² In the diagram we place ps.Justin in the 4th century in deference to the identification with Marcellus of Ancyra postulated by Riedweg; see above Ch. 3, p. 166.

⁴³ Mansfeld (1990a) 3064.

⁴⁴ See Ch. 1 above.

⁴⁵ As demonstrated in detail in Ch. 2 above.

ultimately, if at all possible, a single 'Urquelle'. In the case of Aëtius Diels met with considerable success, precisely because a number of central works in the body of the *Placita* tradition *could* be derived from a single work. We too have just given a schema of transmission which for all the world looks like a Lachmannian stemma. But Diels overplayed his hand and sought to 'sow up' the entire subject once and for all.⁴⁶ His debts to his predecessors are systematically obscured. The presentation of his hypothesis in the 'Prolegomena' makes phenomenal demands on the reader. Every titbit of the doxographic tradition (and other traditions as well) is given a place somewhere, no matter how obscure. Admittedly the main lines of development as he saw them—from the *Placita* tradition (mainly ps.Plutarch) back to Aëtius, and then via the *Vetusta Placita* to the *Urquelle* Theophrastus' Φυσικῶν δόξαι—are made clear enough. In fact one might argue that they are made too clear. As we have emphasized throughout, the doxographical tradition is much more diffuse and fluid than Diels thought.

By way of a concluding summary we draw attention to the following points in our analysis which have led to supplementation and correction of Diels' Aëtius hypothesis.

(1) A limited amount of additional source material has become available for the tradition of P, notably the papyrus fragments of P itself published in 1960–67 and Daiber's edition of Q published in 1980.⁴⁷

(2) No further work has been done on G since Diels. In our analysis it became clear that he showed too much respect for this shoddy *epitome* of an *epitome*.⁴⁸

(3) The division between the traditions of P and A is more difficult to determine than Diels thought. Athenagoras and Achilles cannot be used as witnesses for P. The former may have a direct connection with A, but the material is too general for firm conclusions.⁴⁹ In the case of Achilles the valuable additional material in the *Doxographica Pasquali* proves beyond all doubt that

⁴⁶ As recently as 1993 he was regarded by Hanson and his team as successful in this quest; see above p. 315, n. 73 and also p. xiv n. 2!

⁴⁷ See above Ch. 3, §3 & 6.

⁴⁸ See above Ch. 3, §5.

⁴⁹ See above Ch. 6, §5.

both are 'cousin' writings to A, drawing on sources in a broader tradition which are similar but not directly related to A.⁵⁰

(4) Diels' analyses of the main sources were indisputably acute. But they were often too concise, and concentrated too much on a few telling examples at the expense of a more detailed and comprehensive examination. Moreover, as we emphasized in the chapter on his method,⁵¹ these analyses were vitiated both by the erroneous assumption of fraudulence (*fraus*) and by the fact that they paid insufficient attention to the differing methods, aims and contexts of the various sources. In our own analysis we have been able to reach conclusions that advance considerably beyond what Diels could achieve. We draw attention to a number of important results.

(a) Detailed analysis of ps.Plutarch's method of epitomization reveals various fixed procedures: whole lemmata are excised and long lemmata are abbreviated but the basic structure of a chapter is largely left intact. These procedures are not, however, consistently applied. The actual amount of reduction is most likely not so very large, probably less than 50 per cent.⁵²

(b) Stobaeus' method of dealing with his source is double-sided, perhaps even somewhat paradoxical. As an anthologist he takes great liberties with the text, often simplifying or adapting it in accordance with his aims and Platonizing biases. At the same time, when it suits him—and when the complete anthology is still available to us to check him—he shows himself to be very thorough and even exhaustive in his appropriation of the original source. This latter aspect completely escaped Diels' notice. It will be of considerable significance when we attempt to make a full reconstruction of parts of Aëtius' work.⁵³

(c) The difficult task of sorting out the various sources used by Stobaeus was thoroughly and to a large extent convincingly done by Diels. But problems remain, especially in the separation of Aëtius and Arius Didymus.⁵⁴ A foolproof discrimination cannot be attained, because in the case of the shorter fragments all

⁵⁰ See above Ch. 6, §3–4.

⁵¹ See esp. above Ch. 2, p. 100.

⁵² See esp. above Ch. 3, §10.

⁵³ See esp. above Ch. 4, §5.

⁵⁴ We left to one side the *mer à boire* of the 'Homeric' passages; see above Ch. 4, p. 211f.

stylistic criteria fail. It emerged in our detailed examination that Diels retained a considerable amount of *Didymean* material in the Stobaeian column of his *Aëtian* 'reconstruction', thereby creating a distorted picture of his doxography.⁵⁵

(d) The third main source Theodoret is valuable, not only because he reveals the name of our author, but also because he is our only further check on what the other two sources are doing. But Diels failed to recognize that the bishop is even freer in his dealings with Aëtius than Stobaeus. Because he was convinced that the original was an *uberior* or even an *uberrimus fons*, he mistakenly took Theodoret's paraphrasing liberties as indicative of an original much fuller text, and not as the result of the bishop's adaptative strategies. In the reconstruction offered in the body of *DG* the damage done is limited, because Theodoret's text is not taken up into the parallel columns (except in the numbering). But in his estimation of Aëtius as presented in the 'Prolegomena' his mistaken judgment had important consequences.⁵⁶

(5) Finally we might draw attention to our extensive discussion of Diels' method of presenting the results of his source analysis in parallel columns.⁵⁷ In the case of the presentation of Aëtius' text the choice to use this method was most unfortunate. Its end result was neither chalk nor cheese. It did not present the text of ps.Plutarch and Stobaeus as it has been handed down to us, but also did not produce a fully-fledged reconstruction of what Aëtius might have looked like. We are convinced that the ultimate aim of an analysis of Aëtius must be a single column of text, however provisional or hypothetical it may be. The remains of some parts of the work are so damaged that an attempt at reconstruction may well be quite hopeless. Other parts, however, have been rather well preserved. In our next volume we intend to give a *specimen reconstructionis* of one book of Aëtius' work. This will allow the methods used by the doxographer in compiling his work to come into much sharper focus.

⁵⁵ See above Ch. 4, §6.

⁵⁶ See esp. above Ch. 5, §4.

⁵⁷ See above Ch. 2, p. 92ff.

APPENDIX

Lebedev and the rejection of the Dielsian hypothesis

The conclusion of our examination of the Dielsian Aëtius hypothesis is that the doxographer may be a shadowy figure, but he certainly is not a phantom. The probabilities are strongly in favour of the view that he did exist, and that we are in a position to reconstruct substantial sections of his compendium. Entirely opposed to this conclusion is the Russian scholar Andrei V. Lebedev, who about a decade ago published two articles in which he most resolutely denied the man's existence and also promised a complete revision of Diels' doxographical theory; see Lebedev (1984), (1988). For two reasons we consider it worthwhile to examine Lebedev's arguments, as presented hitherto, in some detail. Firstly these publications are relatively unknown and almost entirely inaccessible (the second, though presented in 1983, was only published in 1988 on microfilm; we are unable to give page references for this paper, since we possess only the author's typescript; we are grateful to the author for sending both publications to us). The second reason is far more important: if Lebedev is correct in his conclusions, the entire argument of our book must be fatally flawed and the entire enterprise doomed to failure. Clearly the stakes are high.

In the article published first, on neglected fragments of Democritus and Metrodorus, Lebedev states his views on the doxographical tradition in the following terms (1984, 14):

Diels' history of doxography is false throughout. «Aëtius» is a phantom (AETIOΣ being Theodoretus' *lapsus* for Eusebius' APEIOΣ), and Theophrastus as a pandoxographic *hypokeimenon* is a mastodon of the XIX-century *Einquellentheorie*. The «*Placita philosophorum*» have nothing to do with Theophrastus, but are of Academic (Eudorus) and Stoic (Arius Didymus) origin.

In a footnote he adds (*ibid.* n. 1):

A complete revision of Diels' theory is in preparation... Instead of «Aëtius» I call Ps.Plutarch's and Stobaeus' common source PS-Placita (P = Plutarch, S = Stobaeus). PS-Placita are dated in 40-30 B.C. Hence Diels' so-called *Vetusta Placita* are superfluous.

To the best of our knowledge this promised revision has so far not materialized (its theory is taken for granted, however, in a subsequent article on Aristarchus of Samos; see Lebedev (1990) 78 and n. 1).

In this first paper with its limited focus only one argument is given. Lebedev argues that the lemmata of Parmenides-Democritus and Leucippus at S 4.7^c are interpolated from P. It is apparent that there is a problem in the assignation of the name-labels here. We have made some remarks on it above in our analysis of S, where we showed that another hypothesis was equally, if not more, likely (see above p. 268f.). In another footnote Lebedev asserts (15. n. 3): 'As far as I know the

contaminatio of Stobaeus' text from the text of Plutarch has not been noticed; it constitutes my basic argument.' It is hard to tell whether these remarks are meant in a general sense or only as applied to the specific text under discussion. If the former is meant, then Lebedev overlooks the discussions of Elter, Diels and Wachsmuth on the (limited) contamination in S (i.e. ms. L) from P (see further above p. 267ff.). Certainly the question of contamination is highly important. If it were proved, it would pose very serious threats even for that part of the Dielsian theory that we have taken over. But if this argument is so important, it is very strange that Lebedev does not refer to it all in his other paper that is exclusively devoted to the theory of the doxographical tradition.

The second paper is also short, but there is no shortage of arguments. These are for the most part stated in apodictic fashion, like volley after volley of bullets from a machine gun. It is most regrettable that we only have access to a summary statement, and cannot examine a more fully worked out theory. All that we can do here, therefore, is briefly state the most important arguments and add our own comments (indicated by an italicized *but*).

(1) It is strange that such an important author as Aëtius should never have been mentioned before or after Theodoret.

But how important was A? His work just represents one compendium drawn from a broad tradition. Moreover it was soon superseded by P's *Epitome* and mostly forgotten. An important author such as AD is known from two witnesses only (E and S).

(2) Theodoret does not demonstrate the kind of learning found in Origen or Eusebius, and is moreover very inaccurate and unreliable in his reporting of names, notably in 5.16ff.

But there is a difference between making mistakes in reporting name-labels (which happens everywhere) and misrepresenting the names of authors one has consulted (or claimed to have consulted). We have seen that the bishop may be careless and inaccurate, but understands the rationale of the *Placita* very well.

(3) The crucial passage at T 5.16 has to be read differently. Diels makes three errors in his presuppositions. (a) It is not the case that T knew P only via E, since at 2.112 Διαγόρου τοῦ Μιλησίου is T's own mistake, not to be found in the best mss. of E. Moreover in 4 passages T is closer to P than S, the implication being that he used P directly. (b) Porphyry's *Philosophos historia* contained doxography as well as biography. (c) The phrase καὶ μέντοι καὶ does not mean 'and especially' in T, but rather 'as well as'.

But (a) Mras' edition shows with all clarity that E's mss. do read Μιλησίου. The divergence between S and T in the 4 passages cited can in each case be readily explained without arguing direct usage of P.

The passages are: (1) A 1.18.4 Diels, where P T have οἱ Στωϊκοί, S has Ζήνων καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. Both authors can easily have made the substitution independently (note how T agrees with S in reading μηδέν rather than οὐδέν as in P). (2) 1.29.2 Diels: P ἄδηλον καὶ ἄστατον, S ἄστατον καὶ ἄδηλον, T ἄδηλόν τε καὶ ἄστατον. This is simply too trivial. S can easily have reversed the adjectives. (3) 2.20.6 Diels, where P T have three name-labels which S splits up. Lebedev ignores the role of S's method of

coalescence. He certainly does not preserve the original text of A. (4) 2.20.12 Diels, where T's final words εἰδῶλου τάξιν ἐπέχοντα find no equivalent in S, but clearly paraphrase the final sentence in P. This can be explained through the supposition that S left out, either accidentally or on purpose, this final sentence. Lebedev in turn has to explain how, if T used P, it happens that both S and T have the words καὶ τὴν ἀλέαν which P omits in his abridgment of A.

It is, in fact, not impossible that T had access to both P and A, but gave the preference to A (see above p. 168 with n. 8).

(b) Even if Porphyry's work did contain doxography, Lebedev fails to take into account the fact that Eunapius specifically informs us that the work finished with Plato (VS 2.1), and that this is confirmed by all the fragments we have. This means that the various post-Platonic *placita* that T records *cannot* come from Porphyry's work.

(c) Lebedev may be correct in his interpretation of the phrase. But we should note the possibility that, as often occurs in authors who draw heavily on anterior material, T is *concealing* rather than drawing attention to his main doxographical source (for an illuminating example see Clement of Alexandria's scanty references to a major source, Philo of Alexandria; at *Str.* 2.78–100 he cites almost word for word, but he does not name him until §100.3, when he has moved on to another topic!; for the details see Runia (1995) 54–60).

(4) Lebedev offers the following reinterpretation of 5.16:

Since Curat. V, 16 sq. contains more *lapsus* than any other passage in [the work], and since after having promised to cite 'Plutarch, Porphyrius as well as Aetius' Theodoretus in fact cites Plutarch, Porphyrius and Arius Didymus (from Eusebius...), it seems almost certain that Theodoretus' AETIOΣ is nothing but a *lapsus calami* (or rather *lapsus memoriae*) for Eusebius' APEIOΣ. Thus the 'doxographer Aetius' is a ghost; he cannot be taken more seriously than 'Alcman' of Croton or 'Timaeus' of Phleius. This does not mean that we should ascribe the PS-*Placita* to Arius Didymus, whose work Theodoretus certainly never saw. Theodoretus' *lapsus* is perhaps due to a mnemonical association of the names of Arius and Aetius (the two most conspicuous heresiarchs of the 4th century with cognate doctrines); there is a similar mistake in the same passage: the *Peripatetic* Clearchus mistaken for the *Peripatetic* Dicaearchus. Theodoretus owes his 'additional' doxography (ascribed by Diels to 'Aetius') to Porphyrius; this is most probable, since we find the additional *placita* in Nemesius who explicitly refers to Porphyrius.

All of this is very ingenious, and one would wish for a less compact presentation. The idea that Theodoret might have got his doxographers mixed up with his heretics is particularly inspired (but not necessarily correct).

But two counter-arguments have already been given above, i.e. the difference between mistaking a name-label and the name of a source, and the impossibility of having derived the additional material from Porphyry. Note too that Nemesius does not refer to Porphyry until some

twenty pages after the doxography in question and then he refers to the *Symmikta Zetemata* (43.2 Morani). At 59.13 his name is mentioned fairly soon after a passage from the *Placita*, but the reference is given to a *Περὶ αἰσθήσεως* (perhaps part of the *Σύμμικτα ζητήματα*, as Dörrie (1959) 155 surmises). This means that the argument that T does indeed cite Plutarch (i.e. P), Porphyry and then Aëtius (or rather, Arius Didymus) cannot hold. More importantly Lebedev has only dealt with one of the passages which mention Aëtius. What about the other two, in one of which even the name of his book is mentioned? These vital passages are wholly ignored.

(5) Since, as we read, T's evidence does not prove that AD was the author of the PS-*Placita*, other arguments will have to be given in favour of the thesis (which of course revives the theory of Meineke, as Lebedev himself notes; cf. further above p. 49ff.). We note *inter alia* three arguments against Diels. (a) That AD's work *Περὶ αἰρέσεων* should contain the *placita* of only Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics is *a priori* incredible. (b) The division between A and AD breaks down, as Diels himself had to admit. (c) A 'Randnotiz' Διδυμ. in S at 1.7b indicates that AD is the author of a definition of ἀνάγκη which must have come from the *Placita*, and being parallel to other definitions earlier in book I (e.g. at P 1.9.1, 1.10.1 etc.), gives away the identity of its author.

But (a) what we have here is a limited presentation of only 3 αἵρέσεις, but these happen to represent three of the four main schools. Lebedev ignores the probability that the 'genre' *Περὶ αἰρέσεων* to which this work belongs (and which we would keep separate from doxography proper, i.e. the tradition of the *Placita*), concentrated on the post-Socratic schools of philosophy (cf. the brief discussion at Mejer (1978) 81ff. and n. 25 above on p. 324).

(b) The fact that the *precise* division between A and AD occasionally breaks down, as we too have noted (see above p. 255), does not mean that the division does not exist at all. Lebedev gives us no idea how he wants to deal with the patent difference in style and method between the two main 'doxographical' sources in S. The way back to Meineke is barred.

(c) This argument is more interesting, if not conclusive. Wachsmuth's solution was to accept Valckenaer's emendation of Διδυμ. to Λικυμνίω, i.e. the title of the Euripidean play from which the γνώμη was taken. More often than not S does give both the name and the play, but certainly not always. The definition is phrased as κρίσις βεβαία καὶ ἀμετάτρεπτος δύναμις προνοίας. The second half, with its clearly Stoicizing flavour, would not be out of place at the beginning of P 1.25. The first half, however, has a logical-epistemological scope, and could hardly fit there. Moreover, why should §25 have an introductory definition, but §27 and §29 not? And why should P include all the others, but leave this one out, so that we can read it only in S?

Finally we might add that the recent work of Göransson, which casts a very searching glance at the entire Meineke-Diels hypothesis on Arius Didymus (see above p. 50f. and 241), is more of a hindrance than a help to Lebedev's theory. The definite knowledge that we have on Arius Didymus is very restricted. He *may* not even be the same person as Augustus' court philosopher (for whom, in Lebedev's flight of fantasy,

the PS-*Placita* may have been written as a handbook on physical philosophy), and so not come from Alexandria at all (though we cannot share the Swedish scholar's total scepticism here).

(6) But AD is not the only protagonist in Lebedev's alternative theory. His near-contemporary Eudorus also has a place.

Arius and Eudorus, who belong to the same doxographic tradition, are not necessarily alternative authors. Arius may well have borrowed (and expanded) Eudorus' doxography; Achilles (and Plutarch?) may have used Eudorus and Stobaeus Arius.

What arguments favour Eudorus' appearance on the stage? These are worked out even more scantily than the others. (a) According to Praechter Eudorus' διαίρεσις τοῦ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγου also contained doxography. The *Placita* may be described as διαίρεσις προβληματικῶς, and so may be identical with Eudorus' λόγος φυσικός. (b) The definition of ἰδέα at P 1.10.1 shows that the author was an 'eclectical Platonist'. (c) The principal argument, however, is the mixture of Eudoran and *Placita* material in Achilles. The latter cannot be foisted onto P, as Diels wanted. It is more natural to suppose that Eudorus was the source of both. But (a) even if both the notions of διαίρεσις and the problematic method are indeed crucial for an understanding of Aëtius (cf. Mansfeld (1992a), in anticipation of further treatment in our second volume), we know almost nothing about Eudorus' work. The one passage in Achilles that is undoubtedly doxographic (§13, = fr.10 Mazzarelli) shows little resemblance to what we find in A 2.3, and reminds us more of AD than A. Another passage in §2, where Eudorus reports the views of Diodorus of Alexandria, shows some similarities with A 2.20, but the *doxai* given by Eudorus are just meant as examples and differ considerably from the more detailed list in A. We note too that, if we accept, as seems highly probable (see above p. 242), Göransson's rejection of the attribution of Stobaeus' Ethical Doxography A to AD (in which Eudorus is mentioned at 2.42.7), then the relation between the two philosophers becomes much more problematic.

(b) The influence of Middle Platonism on the formulation of *doxai* in A is indisputable. We intend to study it at further length in a subsequent volume (see also our remarks above p. 322 and n. 15). The origins of Middle Platonism are notoriously obscure. Eudorus is no more than a beacon in a wilderness of lost material.

(c) Lebedev seems to be unaware that Diels later recognized the deficiency of his analysis of Achilles; see our discussion above at p. 303. He also does not exploit the additional material in the *Doxographica Pasquali*. No attempt is made to give anything like a satisfactory analysis of this complex torso, which simply cannot be dealt with in the space of a few lines. As we noted in our brief analysis, A and Ach. are best seen as 'cousin' writings drawing on similar traditions of the *Placita*. Any attempt to reduce them to dependence on a common source, i.e. Eudorus, is on the basis of our present knowledge, no more than a stab in the dark.

A final point we might mention is that we are left in total ignorance as to how Lebedev views the anterior origins of the doxographic

tradition. It would seem, to judge by his brief remarks in the first article, that the reduction to Theophrastus as *Einzelquelle* does not appeal to him. We agree with him on this point. But nothing is said about the role of the Peripatos and Aristotle himself in establishing the methods and collecting some of the material that becomes common coin in the doxographic tradition. The further question of what lies beyond the 1st centuries CE and BCE cannot be ignored.

The conclusion that Lebedev reaches on the basis of his volley of arguments is far-reaching:

What I have said above is only the beginning of the complex and collective work to be done in future. The monumental edifice of the 'Doxographi Graeci' has been built on sand and needs to be rebuilt.

The major deficiency of Lebedev's work so far is that it merely collects various scattered points—some of which are acutely observed and of undoubted interest—, but does not undertake to give a convincing *Gesamtschau* of the entire tradition. So far this promised research has not yet materialized. Nearly a decade ago the authors of the present monograph had separately, on the basis of a partial acquaintance with Lebedev's research, affirmed that they found it 'not promising' (Mansfeld (1987) 288, Runia (1989) 250). Nothing of what we know at the present moment inclines us to change our mind.

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At this stage of our researches it is not practicable to make an index locorum potiorum. Instead we present a selective index of ancient names, i.e. up to and including the Medieval period. References to modern scholars, i.e. from the Renaissance onwards, can be located via the Bibliography. It is to be noted that in the index of ancient names, except in a few cases of more general importance, we shall not list the name-labels of philosophers mentioned in the *Placita*, because these references are fairly meaningless outside their specific doxographic context. Our book is not primarily concerned with Parmenides and Democritus, but rather with a genre of documents which supplies us with *doxai* attributed to these venerable names (and so sometimes indirectly informing us about their thought).

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